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MONASTERIES IN SPAIN
Architecture and monastic life

The monastery was the setting in which one of the most characteristic lifestyles of the Middle Ages developed. Monks and nuns, in keeping with a specific rule, shared their labours and their days in a disciplined manner which eventually stamped the architecture with features characteristic of their order. Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Carthusians, Franciscans, Dominicans and Hieronymites, amongst others, helped shape a varied monastic landscape with a great personality which in Spain gave rise to one of the most outstanding pages of her architecture. This book presents a selection in which Pedro Navascués Palacio, Professor at the Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid and a member of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, makes a historical tour of some of the most important Spanish monasteries.

LUNWERG EDITORES

INTRODUCTION

The meeting of architecture with religion has been one of the most fortunate events in history in every cultural area of the world. We might say that, from its beginnings, from the megalithic constructions at Stonehenge, architecture itself arises as a need which all religions set out to codify, so that the temple, be it the Greek, the Christian church, the Islamic mosque, the Chinese pagoda or any other place of worship, has for centuries been the connecting thread of the history of architecture. During this process, architecture has not only solved construction problems according to the time and place, it has managed to give its image a sacred meaning which clearly differentiates it from the profane image. Even to a non-specialist or non-believer, the inside of a Gothic cathedral and the powerful images of Hindu temples speak for themselves as regards their sacred condition. In other words, their architecture has character, it is conceived as a scenic framework for a certain religion, certain uses, rites and customs that have gradually shaped the final project. What is being aired in architecture is not so much a question of style as of the functional organisation for the best fulfilment of its end. Only in this way can we understand religious architecture in all its variants, since if we know the function we can understand the form. In turn, this same architectural form, impregnated with this sacred character and without reaching the interpretative excesses of Romanticism, unquestionably added something to religion itself. Today it would be extremely difficult to conceive of religious life in the Middle Ages in Europe without a mental picture of its cathedrals and monasteries.

The world of monastic life in the West is one of the many facets of the history of religion which had to formalise its own living space, especially when it abandoned the solitary or eremitic existence and organised community life in a monastery. From that moment on, architecture and monastic life became inseparable, as the monks' living space was adapted to a particular Rule, so that there were as many types of monastery as monastic Rules. Nevertheless, in the same way that the different religious orders have a common nucleus in their discipline which they share in order to reach the spiritual ends they pursue, monasteries and convents also had a common element, which we could say was invariable and inseparable from their monastic condition. This was the cloister, a closed space around which was arranged the rest of the monastery in the form and sequence each order considered best, from the chapel to the latrines.

This is where the particular profile of each order begins, a profile zealously guarded in their Statutes or Books of Customs, though they are sparing and at times silent when it comes to describing the way in which their monasteries were built. In my opinion, though, there must have been unwritten rules impressed in the buildings themselves, which served as a guide to those that followed. Elsewhere I have described how, on the occasion of the construction of the monastery of El Escorial, the prior of the Hieronymites, Juan Huete, complained to the king's secretary about the architect's lack of knowledge as regards the needs of the monastery. "For although Juan Bautista is a great tradesman and even if he alone knew everything all the Roman Builders knew, he could not reach the particular things that are necessary in a monastery." And he recommended him to visit five or six Hieronymite monasteries, "because each order has its way of life and they are very different and so they are in the ordering of their buildings". This friction arose because, contrary to what was usual in the Middle Ages, the architect did not belong to the order itself and was therefore unacquainted with usages which any lay brother dominated from the day of his profession.

The pattern of the Western monastery, in its basic features, has been perfectly defined since at least Carolingian times, from which an exceptional account has reached us in the form of a twelfth-century copy of an original drawing from about the year 825. This is the well known plan the abbot of Reichenau sent to the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Gall (Switzerland), in whose library it is kept to this day, along with the following letter: "I have sent you, my dearest son Gozbert (abbot of Saint-Gall), this representation of the order of the buildings and some other things, so that you can exercise your authority and understand the veneration I nevertheless feel for you. I hope you will not consider me negligent in the fulfilment of your wishes. Do not think I have prepared all this because we imagine you are in need of our teaching. Think instead that only for the love of God have I drawn it and I am sending it to you for you to study it in the respect of the fraternal love of our Order. Live in Christ and remember us always. Amen." In other words, this was the correspondence exchanged on occasion of the plans for a new monastery, with room for ninety monks, between two abbots of the same order, putting forward an ideal and complete plan of what a monastery should be. This plan undoubtedly had more distant precedents but these are more difficult to follow.

This Benedictine monastery offers an elaborate systematisation within an orthogonal pattern in which each of the fifty-five rooms has its exact place. It shows a principle of symmetry, not merely formal, but in the classical sense of the term, in that each part is related to the rest and these with the whole, both in their proportions and dimensions and in functional aspects and use. In a word, this is a prodigy of planning which shows how very developed the ideal of a monastery already was in the ninth century.

Since then, the monastery as an architectural type saw the ups and downs of monastic and conventual life in its different variants during the course of the history of the Church, going through one particularly significant period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Hundreds of abbeys and monasteries covered the whole of Europe. Their monks, especially Benedictines, Cistercians, Carthusians and Premonstratensians, were counted in their thousands, and the religious orders, as well as the so-called major orders, multiplied in such a way that the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had to come up with a canon which states, "To avoid the excessive diversity of religions (religious Orders) causing serious confusion in the Church, from now on we forbid any new religion (religious Order) to be instituted, and anyone wishing to become a churchman (monk) should embrace one of the approved rules". Nevertheless, many other orders were subsequently approved, such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Hermits of Saint Augustine, Servites, Hieronymites and a long list that casts a doubt on the Lateran canon. At the same time, these orders branched out, not only with a female option, but by attracting laymen through the so-called Third Order. To this must be added the reforms arising within them, which gave rise to different observances and congregations, so that monastic life, only in the Middle Ages, appears as a dense and tightly-knit fabric.

Practically all the orders arose with a wish for reform, reform of the Church, as conceived by the Benedictines of Cluny, or reform of the reform of the Cluniacs as the Cistercians did, who were later reformed by the Trappists, and so on successively. The rule, whichever one it was, was gradually relaxed and a group always emerged which was more ascetic and disciplined than the previous one and which proposed the abandonment of this world and a return to the uncontaminated sources of monastic life in cruder terms, as happened with the Carthusians, trying to reconcile the contemplative life with an active life, the advantages of eremitism with those of monastic life. Each of these steps unleashed a series of variations which, according to the spirit of the time, gave rise to new forms of religious life such as that offered by the mendicant orders which ventured into the cities to preach to the faithful after many years of rural reclusion.

But when it seemed that the general framework of monasticism had been laid down, from the

twelfth century the religious orders got involved in crusades and conquests, so that the analogy between the monk and the solder, which so often appears in the writings of Saint Jerome, became a reality in the military orders formed by *milites Christi*, the soldiers of Christ, who fed the orders of Alcántara, Calatrava, Montesa, Santiago and the Temple, in their twofold capacity as soldiers and monks living according to a rule. The Order of Calatrava, for example, definitively joined the Cistercians in 1187, as an affiliate of Morimond. Their castles were also convents, or vice versa, something easily seen in the castle of Calatrava in Ciudad Real, giving rise to a separate, very specific chapter in monastic architecture as the military component of the fortification carried more weight than the silence of the monastic cloister.

These pages are devoted only to that architecture in which the cloister is the central nucleus of monastic life, that cloister which, in its medieval interpretation, like that of Honorius Augustodunensis at the beginning of the twelfth century, prefigured Paradise within the monastery, which is Eden. Other writings insist on this symbolism, such as those of Sicardo, Bishop of Cremona, who at the end of the twelfth century, in his work *Mitrale*, left this beautiful literary image, loaded with asceticism, making it coincide with the real image of a Romanesque cloister: "There are four sides to this cloister: contempt for oneself, contempt for the world, love of one's neighbour and love of God. Each side has a row of columns, since contempt for oneself has as its consequence humiliation of the mind, the affliction of the flesh, humility in words and similar things. The base of all the columns is patience. In the cloister, the various rooms represent the different virtues: the hospital is the compassion of the soul, the chapter house is the secret of the heart, the refectory is the pleasure of holy meditation, the pantry is the Holy Scripture, the dormitory the clean conscience, the oratory a life of purity, the orchard (of the cloister) all the virtues, the well of sparkling waters is the flowing gift that relieves thirst and will extinguish it completely in the future". There can be no greater treasure in the symbolism of this eloquent architecture that could give rise to more than one meditated and profound sermon.

We have made a selection of monasteries and convents belonging to different orders, in each case underlining the most outstanding aspects of their particular history, without omitting on occasion their sad fate. Our intention has been that all of this should form a sound introduction to the exquisite reality which combines architecture and monastic life. Apparently identical, monasteries are intrinsically different, if only on account of the place in which they have grown, as the well-known Latin distich reminds us:

Bernardus valles, Benedictus amabat montes
Oppida Franciscus, celebres Dominicus urbes

In other words, Saint Bernard's Cistercians looked for ample valleys for their foundations, while the Benedictines preferred the hills, the Franciscans towns and the Dominicans larger cities. In spite of the generalisation, there is a lot of truth in this.

THE BENEDICTINES

The Rule of Saint Benedict.

The monastic world in the West would not exist in its ruled form were it not for Saint Benedict of Nursia, who lived in Italy between the years 480 and 547. His biography is known to us through the second book of the *Dialogues* of Saint Gregory the Great (Pope Gregory I), who died in 604. In it we learn that towards the year 500 Benedict of Nursia withdrew to the cave of Sacro Speco to lead a hermit's life in the wild, impressive slopes overlooking the valley of Subiaco. After this experience, in 528 he founded the monastery of Montecassino, between Rome and Naples, where he composed the rule which bears his name and which the Benedictine monks were to follow. However, many of the basic points of this *Regula Monachorum* became an obligatory point of reference for religious orders other than the Benedictines, as Saint Benedict did not found an order, so much as establish the bases for community life according to a norm, a written rule, thereby justifying his role in history as the patriarch of Western monachism rather than the founder of a specific order.

This rule, composed in the sixth century, sums up, simply and personally, a long tradition of monastic and eremitic life, in such a way that it is the meeting point between East and West, between the old world of the Holy Fathers and the incipient Middle Ages. It soon became widespread as, over and above its intrinsically religious scope, it was in itself a cultural and political instrument which made the rule desirable as an image of order, discipline and rationality in a world historically in need of it. On this point, Charlemagne's attitude is very expressive. As well as visiting Montecassino in the year 787, where he was able to admire this form of communal life, he wanted a copy of the Rule of Saint Benedict so as to implement it in his states. Of this copy, a further, word-for-word copy was made, which ended up in the Swiss monastery of Saint-Gall, where it is kept today, the oldest existing version of the *Regla Monachorum* following the loss of the original and of the first copy made for Charlemagne.

The implantation of the rule in the lands of the Frankish Empire is mentioned in the Synods of Aachen of the years 816 and 817, held at the instance of Louis the Pious, who found in Saint Benedict of Aniane the driving force for that first monastic reform. At these synods, the attending abbots signed a series of chapters in which they undertook to read "in all its extension the rule, and weigh it up word by word. And when they have understood it, with the help of the Lord they will strive to keep it truly with their monks". These were expected to learn it by heart, and it was also clearly pointed out that the Divine Mass was also to be celebrated "according to the rule of Saint Benedict".

The rule in question, which has seen a great number of commentators and interpreters, consists of seventy-three chapters whose contents deal in no particular order with the organisation of the monastery, monastic virtue, divine worship, faults and sanctions, administration and the admittance of new members, to which is added a supplement and an epilogue. The epilogue is revealing as regards Saint Benedict's object, since it begins by saying, "We have drawn up this Rule so that, by observing it in the monasteries, we can show we have a certain honesty of customs or a beginning of monastic life...", and ends with the words, "You, then whoever you may be, who would fain reach the heavenly fatherland, fulfil, with the help of Christ, this basic Rule we have drawn up as a beginning, and thereby you will be sure to arrive, with the protection of God, to the highest peaks of doctrine and virtues we have here recalled. Amen."

The rule has nothing to say regarding the matter of monastery achitecture, though a knowledge of its contents is absolutely essential to understand the true significance of monastic life, as its sourcer are here. Indeed, from its reading we discover the role of the abbot (from Abba, father) in relation to the monks and brothers, that of the prior, of the liturgy of the hours which regulates the rhythm of days and nights, how the psalms must be sung, of manual work, of the noviciate, of the sick, of the hospice, of pilgrims, of the servants, of meals, silence and holy readings. At the same time it recommends reading the rule itself, which must be done "often in the community, so that none of the brothers may excuse himself on the ground of ignorance." (chap. LXVI).

The rule, in short, lays out the main points, that is a way of life which was then construed architecturally in the most suitable way. Even so, some things can be gleaned from the rule, such as, for example, when it says that the monastery porter must have his cell beside the door or else that "if it can be done, the monastery should be so established that all the necessary things, such as water, mill, oven, garden and various workshops may be

within the enclosure, so that there is no necessity for the monks to go about outside of it, since that is not at all profitable for their souls" (chap. LXVI).

Further advice on the monks' dress and footwear help to fill out the picture of day to day life in the monastery: "the following dress is sufficient for each monk: a tunic, a cowl (thick and wooly for winter, thin or worn for summer), a scapular for work, stockings and shoes to cover the feet. Let those who receive new clothes always give back the old ones at once, to be put way in the wardrobe for the poor. For it is sufficient if a monk has two tunics and two cowls, to allow for night wear and for the washing of these garments. Those who are sent on a journey shall receive drawers from the wardrobe, which they shall wash and restore on their return." (chap. LV).

For the bed in the community dormitories, where a lamp had to burn constantly until dawn, there was enough with a mat, a mattress, a blanket and a pillow. The monks were to sleep "clothed and girded with belts or cords...and thus be always ready to rise without delay when the signal is given and hasten to be before one another at the Work of God..." (chap. XXII). The signal in winter was at two in the morning to recite psalms in community. The rule also established very precisely how often each verse was recited, the number of the psalm to be sung, when the antiphons were to be added, and how "Having finished the psalms and recited the verse, the abbot shall give the blessing, and, all seated in their seats, the brothers shall read in turns three readings from the volume on the lectern". If we analyse these passages carefully, we can find several details of the greatest interest given the early date of the rule. By way of example, the above passage describes the monastic community around the lectern.

The rule soon spread to the monasteries of England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain, where it met with varying fortunes in relation to local monastic traditions and rules. These, however, gave way to the Rule of Saint Benedict, which had the support of the majority of European monarchs and Popes of Rome, and which had its period of maximum diffusion during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But by then it was not so much the Rule of Saint Benedict that was being imposed as the reform begun by the French Benedictine abbey of Cluny, in Burgundy. This was especially so under its most important abbots, Odilo (994-1048) and Saint Hugh the Great (1049-1109), whose long, consecutive terms of office defined the character of the true Benedictine Order over and above the rule itself, to which, initially, it returned to revive its most rigorous form. However, the immense power the "Cluniac Order" came to have and its decisive influence both in questions of high politics and at the Holy See and in civil society in general, made it the seed of a pressing reform which was to lead to closer observance of the rule, similar to that put into effect by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux through the new Cistercian Order.

As regards the architecture of the Benedictine monastery, which, rather than something established a priori by the monastic rule, was the result of accumulated experience reflecting the specific uses and customs of the monks, it is worth bearing in mind that there were certain precepts, such as, those that must have been followed in the construction of the monastery of Cluny in its second phase, before the magnificent abbey begun by Hugh the Great, sacked in 1793 and practically destroyed between 1810 and 1823. In fact, the so-called *Consuetudines Farfenses*, a copy of the ones current in Cluny, made between 1039 and 1048 for the daughter house of Farfa, near Spoleto (Italy), describes a Benedictine monastery in all the complexity these monastic centres came to have at that time, far from the simplicity Saint Benedict of Nursia was originally looking for. We shall not for the time being go into the relationship between the elements making up the monastery, nor their description or dimensions. Keeping to the order in which they appear in the *Consuetudines Farfenses*, the following is a summary of the characteristic divisions of an eleventh-century abbey: church, chapter house, visiting room, dormitory, latrines, calefactory (warming room), monks' kitchen, lay brothers' kitchen, store rooms, almoner's cell, galilee (porch), infirmary with six cells, hospice, "crypts with washtubs, where at the established times baths can be prepared for the monks", noviciate, and cells for the metalworkers and master glaziers. To these must be added other buildings not mentioned, such as the library, the grain store and the monks' quarters, as well as the mills, stables, workshops and farm buildings which made the monasteries self-sufficient centres at the head of an agricultural concern. All of this was in the interest of the order, of course, but also of the sovereign and, in particular, of Rome, on which the order, which was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, depended.

Benedictinism entered the Iberian Peninsula as a result of the Cluniac reform, leaving its first imprints in the Pyrenees, first at Cuxà, whence it spread throughout Catalonia, and following that at San Juan de la Peña, then extending to Aragon, Navarre and Castile. Here the Benedictines received the firm support of Ferdinand I (1037-1065) and Alfonso VI (1066-1109) —contemporaries of the abbots Odilo and Hugh the Great—, who did everything to encourage this French influence through the *ordo cluniacensis*. The names of Ripoll, Dueñas, Nájera, Oña, Cárdeña, Arlanza and Silos, not to mention those of the prelates of French origin and Cluniac obedience who, in the course of the Reconquest, held the chief posts before the sovereigns, are just some of the steps in that rich series of foundations which, as daughters of the mother abbey, owed subjection and obedience to Cluny. This dependence gradually broke down during the Late Middle Ages at the same time as commendatory abbots and relaxed discipline made necessary a new reform and observance of the rule. This arrived with the so-called Congregation of Saint Benedict of Valladolid. In 1500 all ties with Cluny were broken while the abbot of San Benito de Valladolid was General of the Congregation, that is of all the Benedictine monasteries which had adopted the Observance, according to the new *Constituciones* approved that year.

San Juan de la Peña (Huesca).

The uncertain beginnings of the monastery of San Juan de la Peña combine all the legendary ingredients so often to be found behind the origin of many medieval monasteries. Like an updated Christian myth, miraculous events are intertwined with lucky finds, concealed holiness and secret nature. Before the place was as it is today —and leaving aside all reliable accounts—, the story repeated since time immemorial and with minor variations tells how Saint Voto of Saragossa, out hunting in the area, fell with his horse into the ravine of La Peña. In a flash, sensing his immediate death, he invoked Saint John the Baptist, who saved him and put him safely down outside the large cave which today houses the medieval buildings. There he found the dead, unburied body of a hermit, Juan de Atarés, and a small chapel dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. This fact made him reflect and, on his return to Saragossa, he persuaded his brother Félix to go back to the place and lead the life of a hermit. Many more people followed in his footsteps until eventually a small monastic community was formed. All of this happened around the eighth century.

The fact is that there are no accounts before the tenth century, which is the moment in history when the monastery of San Juan de la Peña took shape, to judge by the oldest architectural evidence. First of all, though, it is important to mention the most striking fact about the monastery, which also makes it a good starting point for discussing monastic architecture as it is rather like a real birth, as though nature had given birth, as an architectural child emerges from the depths of the earth without severing the umbilical chord from the rocks. Indeed, the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, in the range in the Pyrenean foothills from

which it takes its name, illustrates the move from cave to architecture, from the rupestrian setting provided free by nature to the ruled construction. The apses of the church have been excavated, the dome has been built, but what is so unusual is the intermediate situation in which nature and architecture are inseparable, not only in their colour and materials, but by a phenomenon of straightforward accommodation and mimicry. In short, a solid lesson in architecture.

Almanzor's military campaigns in the Pyrenean regions of Navarre and Aragon at the end of the tenth century must have scattered the monks and hermits who populated the monasteries and hermitages of the region. Many of them found refuge far away, in the great Benedictine monastery of Cluny, in France, and amongst these there may have been some from San Juan de la Peña, though at the time this was not yet its name. The crisis of the caliphate of Cordoba gave the Christian rulers a chance to reorganise their states, reinforcing the frontier lines, settling new towns and colonising the interior, a task in which the monasteries played an important part. This was the policy undertaken during the first years of the eleventh century by Sancho the Elder of Navarre, who was also Count Sancho Garcés III of Aragon. Some time around 1025 he refounded the monastery of San Juan, which from then on was called San Juan de la Peña. If I say refounded it is because something already existed there, as is demonstrated by what we might call the lower church. This work must date from the tenth century, and because of the form and outline of its horseshoe arches it has been considered Mozarabic and therefore pre-Romanesque and earlier than the eleventh-century work. With all the caution required in these appreciations, it seems that that first church was dedicated to Saint Julian and Saint Basilissa, to whom the two apses and the aisles correspond. This cave church, which was later lengthened, now forms the crypt of the upper, Romanesque church. A door connects the eleventh-century church with what is known as the Sala de Concilio (Council Room) and which could well have been the monastery dormitory.

The chevet of this second church has also been half excavated and half built into and against the rock, but it shows a knowledge of the compositional and formal schemes not only of Romanesque art in general, of Romanesque art as a style, but of the models popularised by Cluniac architecture. Its three apses, which seem to have been conceived for three naves, form a triple stage mouth opening on to a single space covered by a sloping rock roof. This is continued as far as the western end of the church by a vaulted section which seems to emerge from the cave in search of the sun. It was consecrated on 4 December 1094, in the presence of King Peter I of Aragon and Navarre, who that same year began his reign, reconquered Huesca and established his court there. The ceremony, which undoubtedly had a special significance as the monastery had become the dynastic pantheon of the rulers of Navarre, was also attended by Countess Sancha, the king's aunt; the abbot of San Juan, of course, by name Aymeric; the abbot of Leire (Navarre); the bishop of Jaca and the archbishop of Bordeaux, amongst many other notables.

All of this was going on at the end of the eleventh century, but by then certain events of capital importance for the history of Spanish monasticism had already taken place, amongst them the introduction of the Cluniac reform, which from its initial stronghold in San Juan de la Peña spread to other monasteries. There were various steps prior to this, the first being the appointment of Paterno, who had been at Cluny, as abbot of San Juan de la Peña: "I, Sancho, King by the grace of God,...having seen how the Rule of Saint Benedict flowered in divers places, began to prepare in our country the church of the Most Blessed John the Baptist, called de la Peña, where the tombs of my elders are to be found...Therefore, wishing to congregate and confirm in the said monastery a monastic path and way of life, according to the holy Rule, before the assembled monks, we designate by common choice as father of the servants of Christ the Abbot Paterno, who previously had long lived apart from the world with his companions, hearing the laudable reputation of the Cluniac monastery..."

King Sancho, indeed, had approached Abbot Odilo of Cluny requesting that he send him some monks to introduce into his kingdom everything the Benedictine order represented in spiritual, material and cultural affairs. "He generously agreed to my request. And having presented themselves (the monks) before me, I delivered to them the said monastery of San Juan with all the towns and monasteries, which my elders had offered there for their souls, and those donated by other pious men, at the same time giving them every safeguard so that they and those who come after them could organise their lives according to the law and the customs of the Cluniac monastery, which no-one shall be able to take from them". This, amongst other things, meant independence from temporal, royal or aristocratic power, and independence from the bishop's jurisdiction, since they depended directly on the Holy See.

The donations immediately arrived and grew, such as that confirmed by the bishop of Pamplona in the lifetime of Sancho the Elder: "I, Sancho, Bishop of Pamplona by the grace of God, at the request of the king, my lord, and with the council and assent of all the archdeacons and of all my greater and lesser canons, praise and confirm the donation by the king and lord, and grant to the sacrosanct altar of San Juan de la Peña and to the abbot Paterno and to all those who lead the monastic life in the said monastery the town of Lazagurria with all the churches that have been built there and which will be built in the future, with their tithes, first-fruits and oblations, granting you power to introduce whatever presbyter you wish, and conferring on you the same authority as the bishop has there". Thus began the formation of a valuable heritage whose income came from Navarre, the Basque Country, La Rioja and Aragon.

However, one last event of great cultural transcendence which was still needed was the introduction and acceptance of the Roman rite and the abandonment of the secular Toledo rite, sometimes called the Hispano-Visigothic rite and sometimes the Mozarabic rite. This affected chiefly the liturgy, but also had an important doctrinal and political scope and had a fundamental effect on a broad cultural sector which renounced its Hispanic roots in favour of the uniformity pursued by Rome. It was unquestionably a sign of modernity which today we would describe as pro-European, as the *more romana* had gradually been imposed thanks to the agility of the Cluniac monastery, where in fact the culture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had been entrenched. All of this took place at a particular moment, 1071, and a specific place, San Juan de la Peña, and the monastery records describe how, on 11 April of that year, in the reciting of the canonical hours, Prime and Terce followed the Toledo rite, but Sext was recited according to the Roman rite: "And from here on they had the Roman law".

The monastery itself is today reduced to a picturesque and incomplete cloister dating from the twelfth century, difficult to interpret now that all the monastery buildings —which must definitely have existed, though we do not know their distribution or size— have disappeared. As evidence of many losses in this field, it is worth remembering the chapel of San Victorián, burial place of Abbot Marqués, who died in 1437.

The absence of a roof over the cloister, which in theory did not need it as it had the great cliff covering it, the difference in height and the scattering of the remains of the former monastery buildngs, the severe fires of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the considerable alterations undergone in the eighteenth century when the neoclassical royal pantheon was built in detriment of the old Romanesque pantheon —now called the Panteón de Nobles—, neglect during the nineteenth century and the restorations of the twentieth, all make

it very difficult to get an idea of monastic life at San Juan de la Peña. In contrast, the cloister contains an extraordinary collection of capitals attributed to two different hands, who illustrated them with the cycles of the creation of the world, the childhood and public life of Jesus Christ, as well as other various subjects, with no lack of fantastic animals, plant themes and the extensive repertory that crops up in the rich iconography of the Middle Ages, where allusions to monastic life itself abound.

SANTO DOMINGO DE SILOS (BURGOS).

The name of Silos brings with it the image of a delicate cloister where time seems to have stood still, while in the distance can be heard the sound of the Gregorian chant with which the monks still praise the Almighty today, as they did in the Middle Ages. However commonplace it may sound, something of that period or of what we imagine that period to have been still lurks amongst these walls and binds their spirit and their history. The story begins in Silos with the presence of a Benedictine monk, Saint Dominic, who after an eremitic experience entered the Order of Saint Benedict in the monastery of San Millán (La Rioja), where he was prior in the time of Abbot Sancho. There he had occasion to vigorously defy King García of Navarre, opposing appropriation of the monastery's assets by the Navarrese ruler on the grounds that it was a gift from his ancestors. Saint Dominic had to leave the monastery and La Rioja and seek refuge in Burgos, where Ferdinand I, the eldest son of Sancho the Elder of Navarre and first King of Castile and Leon, suggested he restore the ruined monastery of Silos, founded or protected by Fernán González (945) on the Carazo plateau. At that time it was dedicated to Saint Sebastian and Gonzalo de Berceo is referring to it when he says:

"En tierras de Carazo, si oyeste contar
una cabeza alta, famado castellar.
Habíe un monasterio, que fue rico logar
Mas era tan caído, que se queria ermar.
Solié de monges negros bevir y buen conviento
de cuyo ministerio habíe Dios pagamiento;
mas era de tal guisa demudada el viento,
que fascas non habíen ningun sostenimiento".

Dominic, who from then on we know by the name he gave to the monastery, Domingo de Silos, was abbot there from 1040 until his death in 1073 and made this ruined centre an exemplary model of what was meant by a Benedictine monastery, in which church, cloister and library made up one of medieval Castilian culture's solidest supports.

Thanks to the abbot's organisational capacity and his exemplary life, which combined religion with an economic and cultural activity of the first magnitude, following his death the monastery went through a period of growing prosperity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which allowed the building activity to which we owe the familiar medieval image of the monastery. At the same time, the dead abbot's reputation for saintliness — his miracles were gathered in the writings of his pupil Grimaldo, later versified by Gonzalo de Berceo— made the Benedictine monastery a place of pilgrimage unequalled in the lands of Castile. This materialised in royal and private donations which eventually built up a considerable heritage whose revenues came from Santander, Burgos, Valladolid, Soria, Segovia, Madrid, Ávila, Zamora, Salamanca, Guadalajara, Toledo, Cuenca, Seville, Jaén and Murcia, and which also included various priories and monasteries which depended on the abbey in Burgos.

Of the first church at Silos, consecrated in 1088 by Abbot Fortunio (1073-1100), nothing remains except for a few scattered elements of architecture and sculpture, such as the excellent tympanum with reliefs of the childhood of Christ. This can be seen today in the monastery museum along with other items of extraordinary interest found during the excavations carried out in 1967 in the present church, built in the eighteenth century. The old medieval church, raised over an earlier, pre-Romanesque church, had a nave and two aisles. Of the two transepts, only the south one remains, opening on to the Romanesque cloister. Here we find the so-called Doorway of the Virgins, with its delicate decoration and its capitals and moulding excellently preserved as they are protected from the elements. Remarkable figures are wrapped around the capitals and, curiously, there is a horseshoe arch at the entrance which could well be interpreted as a Mozarabic feature from the first church.

The Romanesque cloister is unquestionably one of the most exquisite examples of medieval architecture and sculpture. It has an irregular rectangular floor plan, so that the development of the two storeys of arches is unequal, though maintaining the same rhythm, thus ensuring the same cadence in the semi-circular arches. These rest on twin columns close together, which are coupled by a single capital in spite of taking off from different points. This simple arrangement is reinforced from time to time by groups of four shafts forming a single, more robust pillar, though with the vertical elements well inclined one over the other, giving the impression of unstable equilibrium. This is the case in the west gallery of the lower storey, which is the older of the two, dating from the twelfth century, while the upper storey seems to have been added in the following century. Nevertheless, the distribution of the support was continued on this floor in such a way that in the upper cloister pillars flanked by columns were arranged coinciding with the strong points. The superimposed arcades of Silos are very light as both are covered with wooden roofs, which do not call for buttresses or exterior bracing. Of particular interest is the Mudejar woodwork on the lower floor, whose beams show paintings from about 1400, with shields and a variety of scenes.

In fact, these and other variants avoid the monotony of a repetitive arrangement of the supports, making the cloister an attractive and varied walk along which we can see not only the iconographic wealth of its capitals but the powerful force of the stations of the corner pillars. These are a compendium of the finest Romanesque sculpture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and stand out, first of all, for the eight large reliefs with the themes of the Ascension, Pentecost, Burial of Christ, Descent, Disciples at Emmaus, Doubting Thomas, Annunciation and Tree of Jesse. Not all of them belong to the same workshop or the same period. While some, such as the Doubting Thomas, of inexpressible beauty in its composition and execution, could be from as early as the eleventh century, others, such as the Annunciation, must have been executed in the second half of the twelfth century, with a feeling very close to what we call the Gothic style. In fact, the relief and the movement of the figures and the drapery in the Annunciation have no bearing on the stereotyped formulas used by the sculptor of the Doubting Thomas, where the analogies with the stiff and attractive ivory reliefs show the extent to which it is a carefully executed work, unrivalled in the Burgos series and hardly surpassed outside the abbey. The figures are flat, the clothes stick to the body without casting a shadow and the characters, with slight variations, repeat the same gestures and poses, concentrating in their eyes the force of an expression which is difficult to describe. This relief could have been imitated by the artists of the Ascension and Pentecost, which are of a lower standard, or else these were models which it surpassed.

On the capitals of the lower cloister different hands and different models can also be detected. These gradually introduced a broad representation of plants and animals and fantastic subject matter, sometimes taken from the Bestiaries, in which the natural world is mixed with one of monsters and classical myth with medieval moralising. What is striking about these series is the way they adapt this difficult iconography, whose symbolism is not always easy to unravel, to the surface of the

capitals. The anonymous artists show a mastery which is unprecedented in European Romanesque sculpture. Harpies, griffins, deer, lions and birds emerge from the capitals with striking naturalness, sometimes entangled in plants that paralyse the animals, sometimes fighting amongst each other, while all the compositions maintain a rigorous, classically balanced axial distribution. Throughout it there is an Oriental component, in some cases quite clearly of Byzantine origin, whose influence could well have arrived via illuminated codices, fabrics or other liturgical items or everyday objects. There is another series of storiated capitals which includes passages from the New Testament such as the *Birth of Christ*, and which speak for the participation of another very different sculptor. The later upper cloister does no more than succinctly repeat some of the themes from the lower storey, with a predominance of leaf motifs, with none of the fantasy or freshness of the older models.

The cloister, as is usual, was a burial place, something of which we are reminded both by the Gothic tomb of Saint Dominic, which indicates the site where he was originally buried, and by the various burial stones and inscriptions, some of them very old, with dates and interesting facts about the deceased. Around the cloister and opening off it there used to be the chapter house, the refectory and the grain store, but the work of enlargement and refurbishment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has erased practically all trace of them. The site of the old chapter house is still recognisable thanks to the arcade formed by the entrance and the accompanying openings, today occupied by the chapel of Santo Domingo (1732). Before this the refectory had already been moved to a long gallery built in the seventeenth century, on whose upper floor the individual cells were installed with windows facing south. Above this wing, which exceeded the limits of the medieval nucleus, was built the second courtyard —known as the courtyard of San José (1729-1732)— in the days of Abbot Baltasar Díaz, which housed the hospice, where the large library was installed in 1910, and the new gatehouse. All this building work responded to an unstoppable urge for renovation which affected the Romanesque church.This gave way to the present one, designed by Ventura Rodríguez and built under the direction of Antonio Machuca, consecrated in 1792. The new entrance to the monastery and the imposing staircase of Los Leones demonstrate the monumental tone of the work of the eighteenth century, when Silos lived a final golden age before its decline following disentailment (1835), though it did not meet the same fate as many other monasteries which were demolished.

Fortunately, the arrival in 1880 of Ildefonso Guepin from the famous Benedictine monastery of Solesmes, allowed the slow but steady material, cultural and spiritual recovery of the monastery, which in its earliest days had one of the most famous *scriptoria* of the time, where miniaturists and calligraphers enriched its formidable library, which was later dispersed. There, monks like Grimaldo, already mentioned, wrote, in the eleventh century, the *Vida de Santo Domingo*; El Silense wrote his well-known *Crónica*, at the same time as the capitals in the cloister were carved (12th c.); and in the thirteenth century Pedro Marín gathered the well-known *Milagros del santo de Silos de favor de los cautivos cristianos*, many of whom he redeemed even after his death. A complete literary world whose authors walked in this cloister, sang in the church and worked in its copious library, all under the Rule of Saint Benedict and the spirit of Saint Dominic of Silos.

San Esteban de Ribas de Sil (Orense).

The entire length of the Sil, writes Otero Pedrayo in his *Guía de Galicia*, "from Amandi to Los Peares was in the early Middle Ages the Thebaid of monasteries known as *Rivoira* or *Ribera* Sacrata". In fact, this name, which is certainly fitting in view of the number of hermits who lived there and the large number of monasteries which were founded on the banks of the river Sil, comes from the translation by Antonio de Yepes in his *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito Patriarca de religiosos*, in which he transcribes a twelfth-century document whose correct translation and interpretation he questions. The fact is that this area, today altered by the construction of the large dam in the Sil basin, was certainly a new Galician Thebaid which, except for the landscape, could well bring to mind that Thebaid in Egypt made famous by the first Christian anchorites.

Very close to the present monastery of San Esteban de Ribas de Sil, whose name is identified with the place, are still preserved the remains of one of those elemental hermitages, that of San Juan de Cachón, which has the added interest of being related to the monastery of San Esteban, as an inscription dated 918 found its way there which referred to the completion of building work in the monastery by Abbot Franquila. Franquila and his "brothers" had requested authorisation from Ordoño II to reconstruct the ruined monastery, and the king gave permission in 916 for a church or monastery in honour of Saint Stephen to be built on the ruined site (*illum locum iacentem in ruina*).

In this way, on the site of a foundation whose origin is lost in the depths of time, a second monastery was built which, in turn, was to succumb to the new building begun in the twelfth century. Finally, it was totally rebuilt after the sixteenth century and, as so often happens in the rich history of Galician monasteries, the site became a genuine architectural palimpsest.

The oldest nucleus of what exists today in this Benedictine monastery —which, along with others of the same order, formed the basis of Galician monastic life in the tenth and eleventh centuries, colonising previously inhospitable land— consists of the church and cloister. Construction of the church began in about 1184, to judge from the date on an arch in the transept crossing, and must have been completed in the first years of the thirteenth century. In other words, it conforms to late Romanesque patterns, which are obvious in the floor plan with its nave and two aisles and its three apses, but includes the novelties of Gothic architecture both in the proportions used in the elevation and in the ribbed vaults, some of which, like that of the crossing, were rebuilt later.

This change of criterion can be seen in the church interior, as the central apse, with a magnificent early vault with supporting arches, has a certain height which is then exceeded by the straight stretch of the presbytery, leaving a step in which an oculus was opened. This part, which is the oldest, also shows the original height planned for the church, as colonettes, capitals and imposts are interrupted at a springing point for vaults which was later altered in the search for greater height. Because of this, and by way of a curiosity, the lateral apses have grown more than the central one, following the overall height of the church. All the vertical supports therefore seem slenderer than was originally planned. In testimony of the eminently Romanesque character of the church, a relief is exhibited in the crossing, in which Christ is represented amongst the Apostles, and which may well have come from the old Romanesque doorway, destroyed when the present baroque doorway was built.

The lower, original section of the processional cloister which communicates with the church is also Romanesque, though at the beginning of the sixteenth century the upper cloister was added in a pure Gothic style, probably coinciding with the ascription of the monastery to the Benedictine congregation in Valladolid, conceded by Pope Julius II in 1506. This involved alterations to the church, including a change of location of the choir, which was moved from the central nave, and a new, raised choir was built at the western end, communicating with the individual cells via the upper cloister. This cloister is also known as the cloister of Los Obispos, because prior to their transfer to

the church in the sixteenth century, it was the burial site for a total of nine bishops who, on abandoning their mitres, withdrew to this Benedictine corner. For this reason, the monastery coat of arms includes the nine mitres of the prelates Ansurio and Vimarasio, of Orense, Gonzalo Osorio and Froalengo, of Coimbra, Servando, Viliulpo and Pelagio, of Iria, Alfonso, of Astorga, and Pedro, whose origin is unknown to us. Their reputation for holiness is mentioned as a well known fact in a privilege by King Alfonso IX in 1220.

The work undertaken in the sixteenth century prevents our knowing today how the medieval monastery was arranged, as the scope of the new design was such that it could be said to have been totally rebuilt and enlarged. The main interest lies in the so-called small and large cloisters, in which the Biscayan master Diego de Isla, overseer for most of the work which took place there between 1577 and 1599, had a hand. In the new arrangement, access to the refectory and the next-door kitchen is via the small cloister, which has two storeys with arches on Tuscan columns, while the large cloister —or gatehouse cloister— houses the hospice and other rooms possibly intended for the College of Arts and Philosophy which was set up in the sixteenth century. Some parts were never finished and others simply collapsed with the passage of time. Today, rescued from the oblivion and neglect in which the monastery has long been immersed, important work has been undertaken to reroof the whole monastery, but the large cloister has been "completed" with a solution worthy of consideration but highly questionable. This large cloister, one of the most spectacular to be seen in terms of size and development, uses different solutions on its three levels. The bottom is conceived as passages covered by arches on columns; the level above this, on the other hand, uses a flat formula on lintels which while bringing to mind Castilian models was also widespread in Galicia; finally, the top level is conceived as a gallery. Each of the three storeys therefore has its own character, each undoubtedly corresponding to a distinct hierarchy and use, although today this is concealed from us.

All this new work altered the exterior appearance of the monastery and produced an attractive courtyard or corner formed by the main entrance and the church façade, with access from the exterior for the faithful who used this site as a cemetery. From the cloister of San Esteban de Ribas de Sil, the words of Ambrosio de Morales acquire their full meaning when he described the place in 1572 as "such a wild and rugged place as one can imagine, though with many cool springs and groves and well suited to solitude and contemplation".

THE CISTERCIANS

The Reform of Saint Bernard.

The political, economic and religious influence achieved by Cluny drove a handful of its monks to rediscover in solitude and poverty the lost spirit of the Rule of Saint Benedict. The Order's material well-being had unquestionably slackened its observance in many aspects, such as that of manual work, at the same time as the liturgical functions tended to become the only purpose of monastery life. Pérez de Urbel sums this up very accurately in his *Historia de la Orden benedictina* (1941), when he writes, "the complicated regulations and their exaggerated long-windedness must have had as a consequence the loss of their inner spirit. Organisation, which at first had brought renown to Cluny, had become a mechanical exercise. With its litanies, its prayers, its processions, with its constant praying for kings, abbots, benefactors and deceased, the mass had become so long that the monks barely had time to do anything else. It was the opposite to the spirit of Saint Benedict, when he ordered with such discretion that community prayer had to be brief, a golden rule from which the individual could only be released by a special impulse of divine grace. Even Peter the Venerable speaks of the boredom and long-windedness. The mass absorbed everything: study, work and even ascesis. The weariness of the praying prevented fasting..."

Indeed, even the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable (1094-1156), had criticised these liturgical excesses and the lack of austerity in the Cluniac abbeys, saying that, "apart from a small number of novices, the rest was just the synagogue of Satan". This statement, however exaggerated it might have been, reveals a situation which explains the decision taken by Robert, who having held the post of abbot and prior in two Benedictine monasteries withdrew with thirteen companions to a place called Molesme (1075), close to Troyes, to lead a life in keeping with the spirit of the Rule of Saint Benedict, living off his own work in an elemental monastic organisation. From here he moved shortly afterwards and in the company of, amongst others, Alberic and Stephen Harding to a place south of Dijon called Cîteaux, whose Latin name is *Cistercium*, whence the name Cistercian, which could in turn refer to the rushes (cistels) which grew in this wild countryside. A short time later Robert returned to Molesme, where he died in 1110, leaving Alberic and Stephen Harding in Cîteaux. To them we owe the true founding of the new order, which was to bear the name Cistercian. Alberic drew up the Statutes, which are known as *Instituta monachorum de Molismo venientum*, while Stephen Harding is attributed the famous *Charta Charitatis* (1119), approved by Pope Calixtus II, which can be said to be the beginning of the new order. To Harding we owe, in short, the organisation of the Cistercian Order as a monastic order, as well as the image of the new monks, who from then on were called white because of the colour of their clothes —although they wear a black scapular—, in contrast to the "black" monks, or Benedictines, whose habit was completely black, as it has remained until our own day.

However, before returning to the *Charta Charitatis* it is important to mention a capital event for the future order, which was the arrival in Cîteaux of a young man called Bernard of Fontaine, who in 1112 was twenty-one years old. His lively personality identified with the new reforming spirit of the Cistercians and a communion of ideas took place such that the order and the saint can not be conceived separately. The large number of people who wanted to profess in Cîteaux attracted by the way of life of the monks favoured the foundation of new abbeys such as La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond, the four branches of the common trunk of Cîteaux to which would gradually be added the other monasteries. In 1115 Bernard de Fontaines himself, with twelve other monks, founded Clairvaux, after which he was known as Bernard de Clairvaux. In spite of the austere way of life, the meagre diet, fasting, prayer and penitence, the number of the order's monasteries grew in a way which is surprising today. By the time of the death of Saint Bernard in 1153, it had 334 establishments of which sixty-eight had been the personal work of Saint Bernard. This number was amply exceeded during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but by then the progress of the order was causing such concern that the General Chapter of 1152 approved a resolution forbidding any new foundations in an attempt at self-control: "This statute was made in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord of 1152, so that from this time on no new monastery of our Order be built... However, it is permitted for any abbot who, for reasons of some intolerable incommodiousness, would move his monastery to a more suitable place, but at a distance from other abbeys of our Order of at least ten Burgundy leagues and two from the farms, or if this place to which the move has been made had that of another order nearby: in this case the first place will be abandoned, either completely, or else a farm will be built there, if they are not more than one day's journey apart. However, in those places which have begun to be built before this general chapter, it is permitted that the monastery be raised, if before the general chapter of the following year there could be a special one in accordance with the statutes of the Order" (chap. LXXXVI).

The numerical reality, which exceeded the Cluniac phenomenon of the eleventh century, called for a clear and modern organisational structure, and this was provided for in the *Charta Charitatis*, mentioned above. To sum up, in contrast to the centralised organisation of the Benedictines of Cluny, the Cistercians, who recognised the abbot of Cîteaux as the head of the order, were administratively organised around the four abbeys mentioned, in such a way that they had authority over everything connected with their respective daughter establishments. These enjoyed a high level of autonomy, though they were subject to the annual surveillance established by the general visitors named by the abbot of Cîteaux to ensure observance of the Rule. This family arrangement of mother abbeys and daughter abbeys, accurately expressed in the term "filiation", as though they were "branches" of a genealogical tree, with mutual obligations between one another, produced surprising results which exceeded the territorial demarcations of the Cluniacs and brought the Cistercians unity in diversity. The name of *Charter of Charity* is itself due to this close relationship, since the Cistercians, "separated by the body in different parts of the world, but indissolubly united by the soul, live in the same charity, under the same rule, observing the same customs".

This approach also affected the arrangement of the monasteries and the styles of their churches and oratories, since in the same way that children take after their parents, the daughter houses also repeated the features of the mother abbey. For this reason, when we say that one monastery is daughter to another, we are also specifying certain differential distinguishing traits which are inherited regardless of other circumstances of time, place and artistic fashion. Thus while the monasteries of Poblet and Santes Creus (Tarragona) are Cistercian, their churches show considerable differences in spite of being descended in the last instance from Clairvaux. The monastery of La Oliva in Navarre is also Cistercian, but it is descended from Morimond, and while it is immediately recognisable as a Cistercian establishment, nevertheless the sanctuary of the church is built differently from the two preceding examples. Unity and diversity, separated but united in the same customs —this in part is the key to the agility of the Cistercian movement.

In the Cistercian Order, as also happened in Cluny, the annual meeting of the General Chapter at Cîteaux was of capital importance for organisation and life. It was attended by all the abbots and fixed many issues that are not in the Rule of Saint Benedict or in the *Charta Charitatis* and which formed the basis of the Cistercian customs or *Consuetudines*. This happened in the General Chapter of 1134, on the eve of the foundation of Clairvaux, when certain criteria were approved which affected monastic organisation, starting with the location of the monasteries: "None of our monasteries may be raised in cities, castles or villages, but in secluded places, far from the coming and going of people" (chap. I). Another section refers to the minimum number of monks that must go to a new monastery, who like Christ and the Apostles had to be thirteen in number, and on the belongings they are to take: "Twelve monks, thirteen with the abbot, must be moved to a new monastery; however, they must not be sent there until the place is supplied with books, buildings and remaining necessities. As regards the books, the missal, the Rule, the book of usage, the Psalter, the hymnal, the *collectaneum*, the lectionary, the antiphonary and the gradual; and as regards buildings, the oratory, the refectory, the dormitory and the cells for the guests and the porter" (chap. XII).

Many further stipulations reveal the sense of austerity of the Cistercian Order, which made them the distinguishing element in relation to Cluny. It is known that they condemned figurative and ornamental art in general, when the same General Chapter of 1134 forbade "pictures or paintings to be made in our churches or in any other of the monastery buildings, because while attention is paid to such things very often one forgets the benefit of good meditation or the discipline of religious seriousness" (chap. XX). These and other similar precepts were undoubtedly inspired by Saint Bernard, who is well known for his *Apologia to William of Saint-Thierry*, a friend of the Cluniac reformer and abbot, who reproaches him for the luxury and grandeur of his monasteries, the immense height of the oratories, the inordinate lengths, the necessary widths, the sumptuous decorations, the curious paintings, which attract the gaze of those at prayer and prevent their worship" and expressed his opposition to the sculptural world which enlivened the Cluniac cloisters: "Amongst the brothers who read in the cloisters, what is the purpose of that ridiculous monstrosity, a certain admirable deformed beauty and a beautiful deformity? What is the purpose, then, of the foul monkeys, the fierce lions, the monstrous centaurs, the half-men, the striped tigers, the warring soldiers, the trumpeting hunters?".

There is no doubt that Saint Bernard casts a doubt on the capitals of so many fine cloisters in the Romanesque world, where the Bestiary had inspired artists, not wanting to go into the possible scope and symbolism of these animals and representations, which in a way must be understood as the pages of an open book. Bernard himself referred to this very interestingly in the *Apologia*: "Beneath a head you see many bodies, and beneath a body many heads. On a quadruped here can be made out a serpent's tail, on a fish there the head of a quadruped. In one place, a beast which is a horse in the front, half goat at the back; in another, a horned animal, which is a horse in its upper part. In a word, so much and so variable a variety of divers forms appears everywhere that it is more pleasing to read the marbles than the codices and spend the whole day admiring these singular things than meditating on the law of God".

In the same way, everything from towers to any sumptuous sign such as the use of gold or stained glass was strictly forbidden and "any excess of buildings and food" (1213) was prohibited. This process of elimination, a process of genuine artistic asceticism with no attempt to establish a Cistercian aesthetic, eventually shaped one of the episodes with most personality in the history of architecture, eclipsing all other monastic architecture. When we speak or think of a medieval monastery, it is by default a Cistercian monastery.

In the choice of site for a new Cistercian foundation, special care was taken to ensure there was a river to serve the monastery, a forest to provide isolation and wood, land for the maintenance of the community, pastures for the animals and quarries nearby for the construction of buildings. The Cistercians in their constructions made advances in hydraulic engineering and building techniques, inventing devices to supply their monasteries with running water, at the same time as they introduced the new systems of ribbed vaults into the rest of Europe. All of this activity and ingenuity is reflected in a *Life of Saint Bernard*, written by Ernald between 1133 and 1145, which includes a description of the construction of the second Clairvaux monastery, following the decision to move it to a more suitable place. In it he tells how, in the midst of general enthusiasm, the work was joined by people of very different trades, who resolved the technical problems: "With abundant means and workers recruited at great haste, even the brothers (*fratres*) set to work in every sense. Some cut wood, others quarried stone, others raised walls, others divided the broad-banked river and built the waterfalls for the mills. But also the fullers, millers, tanners and artisans and other craftsmen made ready their respective machines so that the seething river, wherever and whenever necessary, ran along underground channels beneath all the buildings (basically latrines and kitchens); and having provided its services in all the rooms (*officinas*) and cleaned the monastery, the two separate water courses are returned to the main river and to this is returned its own volume... The monastery rose up, and as though the new-born church were alive and moving, it advanced and grew".

The layout of the Cistercian monastery is one of the clearest and, taking advantage of the basic solution already tried in the Benedictine monastery, is even more rigidly organised. The chief novelties can be seen in the apsidal end of the church, the wing of the cloister corresponding to the refectory and the area for the brothers or lay brothers. The church tends towards a "T"-shaped floor plan, with a straight front, in what is called the "Bernardine floor plan" but without discarding other more complex solutions. It has a nave and two aisles, the nave being occupied by the two choirs for fathers and brothers, or monks and lay brothers, each one with a separate access from the cloister, as throughout the monastery they tend to be separated from one another. In the north transept there is usually a way out to the cemetery and the south transept communicates via a staircase with the fathers' dormitory. The fathers sleep in their clothes so as to be able to get to the choir more quickly during the night. The church, which the Cistercians always refer to as the oratory, shares one wall with the cloister, usually the southern one, and this corridor of the cloister is called the reading corridor, as it usually has a stone bench where the monks sit and read at certain moments, taking a book from the nearby *armarium* or *armariolum*.

This little niche where the books are kept is in the wing of the chapter house, on a level with the sacristy which communicates with the church. The front of the chapter house also includes the way up to the monks' dormitory and the parlour, which also serves as the way out to the garden and infirmary. Leading off one side of the third corridor is the monks' hall, the calefactory (the only heated room in the monastery), the monks' refectory, the lay brothers' kitchen and refectory, all of them perpendicular to the gallery opposite the church, in an unmistakably Cistercian arrangement. Finally, in the lay brothers' wing, where there is a long, dark passage providing direct access to the church without being seen or having to leave the cloister, is the grain store and the lay brothers' dormitory. Outside this cloistral area, which is a model of functionality, are the infirmary, market gardens, workshops, farms, mills, stables and everything that gave the monastery its autonomy.

The introduction of the order to Spain dates from the days of Saint Bernard himself. The monasteries of Moreruela (Zamora), previously under Benedictine observance, and of Fitero (Navarre) were the first of a long series of foundations which as indirect daughter institutions are linked first of all to Clairvaux and then to Morimond. Only three abbeys are directly related to Cîteaux and none to La Ferté or Pontigny. Its growth in the Peninsula enjoyed royal favour and its most important period was between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, when it had important communities of Cistercian nuns like the one at Las Huelgas in Burgos, one of the most powerful women's foundations of its time.

In the fifteenth century an important reform was carried out amongst us by a former Hieronymite, Martín de Vargas, which materialised in the Sagrada Congregación de San Bernardo y Observancia de Castilla, which Pope Martin V (1425) freed of its links to Cîteaux and its General Chapter and which led an independent life separate from the Cistercian Order. Later, in the sixteenth century, the Conregación de Aragón was formed, and finally there were more radical reforms, like the one carried out in France during the seventeenth century by Rancé giving rise to La Trappe and the Trappists, who are simply reformed Cistercians or Cistercians of the Strict Observance. Once more, history repeats itself in the return to lost rigour. There were no substantial changes in the arrangement of the monastery, and the old Cistercian foundations provided the framework for the new observance, as happened at Santa María de Huerta, amongst other abbeys.

Santa Maria de Poblet (Tarragona).

In the foothills of the Sierra de Prades, in the province of Tarragona, stands one of Europe's great Cistercian abbeys, where after many changes of fortune it is still possible today to hear the voices of the monks beneath the vaults of the church. The order is therefore still attached to the same place the first monks from France once chose when they arrived from the now privately owned Abbey of Fontfroide, close to Narbonne, and itself descended from Clairvaux. They had been called by the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, in about 1151, after he had driven the Muslims back as far as the Ebro river, which for a time formed a natural border between Christians and Muslims, that is between Catalunya Nova and el Andalus. In fact, the cities of Lleida and Tortosa had fallen and it was time to think about the repopulation and colonisation of the land on the left bank of the river. An important part was played in this task by the Bernardine monks, not only from Poblet but also from the nearby abbey of Santes Creus, whose monks arrived at about the same time, but from Grandselve, a daughter house of Morimond.

Of the site chosen for the Poblet settlement, we have the following description made in 1753 by the monk and archivist of the abbey, Jaime Finestres: "A peaceful and happy spot, because in all the countryside around the trees keep the green of their leaves all the year round, their luxuriance is an agreeable object to the eye. In the fields of the region there are vineyards and olive groves and in the meadows nearest the hills many woods suitable for hunting and for pasturing goats. But the chief excellence of the town and region of Poblet is the goodness and perfection of the climate, which is one of the most suitable for the preservation of human life, because the air is healthy, the sky bright, its influences temperate and although its temperament in winter is very cold, the abundance of good firewood, which is on hand in the forests, makes it less noticeable, and in summer it offers the convenience of not having to suffer the closeness of the night which is so disturbing in other places. There rarely lacks the necessary rain to achieve an average crop, such as wheat, barley and pulses, and wine, oil and other fruits which can be gathered almost outside the monastery". This image of fertile woodland probably has something to do with the name of Poblet, which comes from the "Hortus Populeti" which appears in the monastery's oldest documents and which has repeatedly been interpreted as coming from *populetum* and *populus*, the Latin name for the poplar which was common there.

This was the heaven on earth in which Poblet was built. The monastery flourished, after its difficult beginnings in which the twelve newly arrived monks and their abbot dealt with the problems of accommodation and of building the essential elements of the monastery, and grew into the great abbey it was, reaching a large number of monks in the community, on average between eighty and 100 in the fourteenth century, though if we count the many lay brothers and *donados* who brought the monastery to life, this number is doubled. This increase in the number of monks clearly reflects the support received from the rulers of Aragon, who made the Cistercian temple their pantheon. Here are buried Alfonso II the Chaste, James I the Conqueror, Alfonso V the Magnanimous and Martin I the Humane, amongst many other kings, queens and *infantes* and *infantas*. This resulted in sustained royal favour in the form of exemptions and privileges which produced a rich heritage of real estate, as well as having jurisdiction over seven baronies and seventy villages and towns. At the same time, its abbots enjoyed considerable political influence, as the monks of Poblet were the confessors of kings, their chaplains, councillors, alms collectors, testamentary executors, etc.

The fact that the Cortes of Aragon met in Poblet under Peter IV the Ceremonious and that later Martin the Humane built a palace there adjacent to the monastic buildings gives a good idea of how closely the Crown of Aragon identified with this monastery, which in return gave custody to their

mortal remains and remained in vigilant prayer for their eternal salvation.

But as well as the monarchs the highest Catalan nobility joined in this support in return for similar spiritual benefits. Poblet received donations from families whose names figure amongst the burials in its church and cloister: the Dukes of Segorbe, Cardona and Girona, the Anglesola, Moncada, Boixadors, Guimerà, Montpalau, Copons families and more.

Many of the abbots of Poblet —who from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries were perpetual as a unique privilege and then quadrennial— went on to become high ecclesiastical dignitaries inside and outside the order. This is the case, for example, of Arnaldo de Amalric (1196-1198), who came to be General of the Cistercians, Archbishop of Narbonne and papal legate in the Crusade against the Albigensians, which speaks for the consideration of Rome towards the monastery. In fact, the popes of the second half of the eleventh century —that is from Eugene II (1152), to Alexander III until the pontificate of Urban III— favoured Poblet on repeated occasions by putting it under the protection of the Holy See, according to a large number of pontifical instruments.

Poblet's period of greatest glory was from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, when the main nucleus of the monastery was fortified with solid walls which stand out for the Royal Gate. By then it already had daughter houses like the monasteries and priories of Piedra in Saragossa (1194), Benifazá in Castellón (1235), Santa María la Real in Majorca (1239), San Vicente Mártir in Valencia (1287) and Nazaret in Barcelona (1311). In the fifteenth century, thanks to Ferdinand the Catholic's mediation before the Pope, Poblet managed in 1480 to break with its dependence on Fontfroide, its mother abbey, to whom it had been paying a large sum of money every year, as well as being subordinated in other delicate issues such as the election of the abbot of Poblet, an event until then presided by the abbot of Fontfroide or his delegate.

With the recognition of this administrative autonomy in the temporal order, Poblet in the sixteenth century faced the first attempts at territorial organisation, which were not to materialise until the following century, when it became part of the Congregación de Aragón, along with the other Cistercian abbeys of Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, the Balearics and Navarre. After that, life went on until things were brusquely interrupted in 1835. At that point, secularisation led to the dispersal of the community of Poblet, which was then made up of fifty-nine monks and a dozen lay brothers.

The subsequent sacking and abandonment of the monastery left it in a state of extreme ruin from which it did not begin to recover until after 1930, with the foundation of a trust which, after the interlude of the Civil War, not only began the restoration of the monastery complex —which had been declared a National Monument in 1921— but also allowed the return of the Cistercian monks in 1940. The restoration work is worthy of praise, and a special mention should be made of the architects Martorell and Ferrant and of the sculptor Frederic Marés, to whom is owed the difficult task of recomposing the monumental royal graves in the church. The final restoration campaigns, which took place between 1975 and 1982, were carried out by the architects Ripoll, Garreta, and, in particular, Bassegoda Nonell, who amongst other things recovered the beautiful dome over the transept crossing.

The main entrance to the monastery is via the old avenue or Camí de Poblet, which leads to the Prades Gate, which takes its name from the nearby range of hills. A little further on, a second gate, set in the large walls which mark the enclosure of the monastery, directs our steps towards the Golden Gate, a work dating from the end of the fifteenth century, defended by a military row of battlements. But if we want to get to the monastery itself we must cross yet a fourth gate, the so-called Royal Gate, set in the wall Peter the Ceremonious had built in the years when Guillermo de Agulló was abbot (1361-1393), as we are reminded by the shields above the gate.

Before going in, between the first and second enclosures, as well as market gardens, farm buildings, presses, cellars, brickyards, fountains, barns, lodgings and gatehouse, amongst other constructions, there is an extremely interesting architectural complex, from the chapel of Santa Caterina, a thirteenth-century work retaining distinct Romanesque traces which bring to mind the oldest parts of the monastery, to the chapel of Sant Jordi, built by Alfons the Magnanimous (1442), whose façade is a delicate example of late Gothic. The new abbot's palace, begun by Juan Oliver de Bataller (1583-1698), dates from the sixteenth century but was not finished until the eighteenth century. It is joined to the main monastery complex by a covered passageway also dating from the eighteenth century.

In the unequal but picturesque square in front of the monastery enclosure stands Abbot Guimerà's (1564-1583) elegant boundary cross, a work recovered in Paris by Eduardo Toda, to whom we are indebted for his zeal in the physical and moral recovery of Poblet.

Above the stretches of wall stand towers of different forms with names referring to widely varying events, such as, amongst others, the Prior's Tower, the Shoemaker's Tower, the Tower of the Oil and the Tower of the Hosts. The most powerful, with its crowning row of battlements, is the Royal Gate, whose prism-shaped projecting bodies became a reference point that inspired similar systems in Valencia. To make up for the foreboding military character of the Royal Gate, a short distance away is the façade of the church built in the seventeenth century under the generous, sustained patronage of the Dukes of Cardona. The work is by the master builders Francisco Portella and José Llagostera, with the collaboration of the sculptor Domingo Rovira. The façade is in an unmistakable baroque style which includes, between columns, the statues of Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard, as well as the image of the Virgin at the top. We must not forget that she is the patron of Poblet.

The church is the main building supporting the rest of the monastery on its northern side. This is one of the most impressive Cistercian churches there is to be seen, in terms of the architecture and the overall dimensions. The floor plan is in the form of a Latin cross, with a nave and two aisles, transept and a chevet with apsidal chapels. It measures eighty-five metres at its longest point, the nave is rather more than eight metres wide, while the height reaches twenty-eight metres, unusual proportions in a twelfth-century building. The church must have been started in 1186, coinciding with the beginning of the term of office of Hugh (1166-1181), sixth abbot of Poblet, who took on the important project we know of today and in which Alfons II played a decisive part. Alfons wanted to be buried in the new church, thus establishing the royal pantheon, whose political symbolism is stressed by the fact that he was the first king of Catalonia and Aragon, representing the union of the Catalan counties with the kingdom of Aragon.

Following the death of the king in Perpignan (1196), his remains were moved to Poblet. By then the church must have been almost completed, although the work went on into the thirteenth century. In fact, the aisle on the Epistle, or south side, was rebuilt during the following century, in the years of the highly active Abbot Ponce de Copons (1316-1348), increasing the number of chapels on that side. The church interior, according to Torres Balbás, "gives an unforgettable impression of severity and grandeur, achieved purely through architectural resources, as it is extremely bare: there is not a single decorative detail, not a singe leaf on the capitals, not a single rose on the keystones, not a single story on the corbels". In other words, Saint Bernard's ideas rejecting luxurious decoration in churches are taken literally, as expressed in the General Chapter of the order of 1134, when he forbids "pictures or sculptures in our churches or in any of the monastery buildings".

The Romanesque arrangement of the church, characteristic of the twelfth century, is enlivened with the novelties of the ribbed vaults. While the nave and transept are covered with a pointed barrel vault whith supporting arches, the aisles have very incipient ribbed solutions, as can be seen in the aisles, the transept, the high chapel and the whole of the chevet. At one time the church had a closed choir for the monks, which took up the first three sections of the nave, and another one following that for the brothers. The present nakedness of the church, in which can be felt not only the Cistercian spirit but also the years of plundering and neglect, is balanced by the large altarpiece commissioned from Damián Forment (1527) for the main chapel when Pedro Caixal was abbot. It is worked in alabaster and alternates reliefs of the Passions of Christ with the Joys of the Virgin, while saints and apostles appear in the round. The Virgin with the Child, being the patron of the monastery, appears in the place of honour and on a larger scale.

The transept crossing is known as the Royal Chapel as it contains, on two large segmental arches, the royal tombs carved by masters such as Aloy, Guines, Cascalls and Jordi Johan and skilfully restored by Frederic Marés (1946), mentioned above, in spite of many difficulties. Some of the monarchs, such as Alfons II and James I, are dressed in the white Cistercian habit, showing the extent of their ties with this monastic order. Over the crossing a dome was built (fourteenth century) which does not communicate with the interior of the church and which, like a funeral lantern, can be understood as the outer expression of this regal site. There are other royal tombs to be found in the crossing, while those of the Dukes of Cardona and of Segorbe, which once also formed part of the Royal Chapel, have been moved to the Chapel of Relics.

It is clear that life in the monastery in the Modern Age still preserved liturgical activity of the first order from the fact that in the eighteenth century the so-called Sacristía Nueva was built. This imposing chapel, paradoxically, ended up as one of the most powerful and characteristic parts of the whole monastery. The work was begun by Abbot Francisco Dorda (1704-1708) and must have been of a grandeur and magnificence unimaginable today after its past plundering.

The north transept communicates with the small Sacristía Vieja (thirteenth century) and, climbing a staircase, with the community dormitory. This allows the monks direct access to the choir for nighttime prayers. The dormitory is a room which has become popular in medieval Spanish architecture on account of the beautiful, simple construction of the pitched wooden ceiling on pointed arches, the so-called diaphragm arches. Its dimensions are truly striking, as it is longer and wider than the nave of the church itself, measuring 87 metres by 10, and lies above the old sacristy, the chapter house, the monks' hall and the imposing library, all of them on the ground floor.

All these rooms open off the west side of the cloister, which was completed in the thirteenth century but reflects changes that have taken place in skills and tastes. While the arches in the gallery running along the side of the church show the unmistakable stamp of Romanesque art, the rest of the cloister is clearly dominated by the pointed Gothic outline of that century.

The most important of the buildings opening on to the cloister is the chapter house, with its square floor plan and its four free-standing columns from which spring nine sections of elegant vaults whose ribs tell us they also date from the twelfth century, although the entrance to the hall has Romanesque imitations, like other parts of the monastery. Inside, well lit from the front, it preserves the burial stones of many of the abbots. Those of Ponce de Copons (1316-1348) and Guillén de Agulló (1361-1393) stand out on account of the part they played in the building of the monastery. Aligned with the chapter house is what has been the library since Abbot Pedro Virgili (1688-1692) gave this function to what had been a barn and storehouse. The two rooms it occupies are fifty metres long altogether, with a line of columns in the centre forming a double nave which at the moment of the library's maximum splendour contained 40,000 volumes.

On the opposite side to the church, as is customary in the Cistercian arrangement, is the fathers' refectory, announced by the niche with washbasin which forms an extension of the cloister housing the so-called "Luna" or fountain with thirty-one spouts. There is another, simpler fountain in the refectory itself, which is simply a large nave covered with a slightly pointed barrel vault, a thirteenth-century work thirty-three metres long, a truly remarkable size, like everything else in Poblet. Here we find the inevitable pulpit for the readings that accompany the silent, frugal meal. On either side of the refectory are the kitchen and the calefactory, both of which also open on to the cloister.

The old lay brothers' refectory, later converted as a storeroom, runs parallel to the fathers' refectory, on the other side of the kitchen, below the high dormitory of the older monks.

Finally, on the east wing of the cloister, after a change of use, is what today is the monastery visitors' room, which once housed a press and before that was the Abbot Copons's hall. What is significant is that over this large vaulted hall was built King Martin I the Humane's palace, begun in 1397. The work is by the architect Arnau Bargués, who only had time to complete the banqueting hall, but with a truly excellent doorway and large windows with a courtly, civil and palatial air which is very different from the sombre monastic architecture that surrounds it. The palace, despite never being finished, completed a programme which could not aspire to more as a church, tomb, royal residence and fortress.

Santa María de Huerta (Soria).

The foundation of Santa María de Huerta in the valley of the Jalón, not far from the source of this river, has an obvious precedent in the town of Cántabos, with the presence of the Cistercian monks from the monastery of Berdoues, in Gascony (France), a daughter house of Morimond. They had been called by King Alfonso VII and stayed here until their move to the valley of Huerta in Soria (1162), where the first stone of the monastery was laid in 1179 in the presence of the then King of Castile, Alfonso VIII. From then on there was no end of privileges, donations and exemptions which, paradoxically, it received not only from the rulers of Castile, but also those of Aragon, such as Alfonso II and Peter II. Huerta, being on the border between the two kingdoms, enjoyed unusual prerogatives such as the use of pastures in both lands, as well as exemption from tolls and other tributes on both sides of the border, as is laid out in detail in its charter.

The moral and material history of Huerta is closely tied to the activity of its fourth abbot, Martín de Finojosa (1166-1185), in his role as mediator before the king in favour of Huerta. Martín had already intervened actively on behalf of Alfonso VIII in the Cistercian General Chapter to obtain aceptance of the special privileges the monarch wanted for Las Huelgas. This would explain Alfonso VIII's predisposition towards the unusual figure of this abbot who was later canonised. Proposed as bishop for the diocese of Siguënza (1186), he renounced the position a few years later to withdraw as an ordinary monk to the monastery of Huerta, where he spent the rest of his days, until his death in 1213.

Not only was Martín de Finojosa an excellent administrator who, as abbot, promoted the construction of the monastery of Huerta, his own family made a decisive contribution to the works. His elder brother, Nuño Sancho, buried in the cloister of Los Caballeros, made important donations like those mentioned in his funerary inscription, which states, "this knight was greatly feared by the Moors and won many battles against them, and was in the great battle and siege which the King Don Alfonso VIII of this name laid against Cuenca, when

he won in 1176, where this noble knight did great deeds for his law and for his king; for which reason his name shall be praised and his efforts esteemed. Everything he owned in Cuenca he gave to this monastery of Huerta. And today we have a farm which is called Alvadalejo, close to Cuenca, and the Mint in Cuenca. And as well as this he gave us one thousand five hundred gold *mencales* to make this gallery which is beside the refectory, where he is buried. He left this life in the year 1206."

Shortly afterwards, Martín Nuño, Abbot Martín's nephew, paid for the work on the extraordinary refectory since 1215, while other people and friends linked to the abbot, like Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, paid the cost of the former dormitory of Huerta, in which monastery he wished to be buried, as he declares in the will he signed in Paris (1201): "Sepulturam mihi apud Ortam elegi". Other burials complement these accounts, like those of the executors of Ximénex de Rada, "who made this part of the cloister, and gave here the books and ornaments that belonged to this bishop...who ordered that it be done so. They left this life in the year 1236 and the year 1259". This is how we know in some detail the first stage of the building at Huerta, corresponding to the thirteenth century, when the monastery managed to complete the most important buildings.

However, it was yet to go through a further period in the sixteenth century of capital importance for the building work. The addition of a second cloister, the so-called cloister of La Hospedería, the upper cloister over the original cloister of Los Caballeros, and the changes made in the church show what joining the sixteenth-century reform of the Congregación de Castilla meant for the monastery of Huerta. Some apparently minor but in fact capital details, such as the fact of abandoning the old tradition of large community dormitories in favour of individual cells or of considering the church a public place, for example, led to the construction of the second, Renaissance structure over the medieval cloister, connecting it with the new choir, also raised, at the western end of the church. These and other measures, which are not due to stylistic flights of fancy so much as to the architectural expression of new rules of life in the Cistercian Order for the monasteries belonging to the Congregación de Castilla, gradually transformed the nature and usage of other areas which took on a new personality which departed from the rigid early Cistercian model.

Santa María de Huerta, like other monasteries, suffered the secularisation of 1835 and the subsequent neglect, until its sale by public auction (1846). It then had various owners until it came into the hands of Enrique de Aguilera y Gamboa, Marquis of Cerralbo, who devoted some of his research to the monastery (1908). By then Huerta had been declared a National Monument (1882), but it was in a state that left much to be desired and the predominant image was one of neglect described by Manuel Pérez-Villamil in 1875, though the heroic beauty of the ruins did nothing to ease the desire to return to past times. Things took a turn for the better following the death of the Marquises of Cerralbo, when the provisions of their wills expressed the wish that a Cistercian community should return there. This wish materialised in 1930, with the arrival of a small number of monks from the abbey of Cóbreces (Cantabria).

The general arrangement of Santa María de Huerta follows the rigid Cistercian scheme in which everything is regulated and repeats a tried and tested functional organisation. The church has a T-shaped floor plan in which the greater depth of the semi-circular chevet stands out. By contrast, the four apses that accompany it, two on either side, have a straight front and correspond to each of the four sections forming the arms of the crossing. The main vaults have very simple ribbed solutions and are amongst the earliest cross vaults in Spain. This in no way means that the building is Gothic, as the construction, the thickness of the walls and supports, the proportions of the sections, buttresses, pillars, proportions, etc. are entirely within the strictest Romanesque tradition. Nevertheless, the church saw later additions and reforms, such as the raised choir at the western end, already mentioned, along with the organ gallery, as well as the changes in the vaulting of the aisles. Its general appearance also changed considerably, as its present nakedness and the removal of the excellent monks' stall, with ninety-one seats, from the nave to the raised choir, reduces the vitality of this central part of the church. On the pillars separating the nave from the aisles can be seen the simple corbels or stepped springers on which are supported the pilasters of the ribs of the vault. These spring from a certain point leaving room to fit in the old wooden choir, a characteristic element of what could be called the Cistercian style.

To the north of the church is the original cloister and its attached buildings, including the chapter house and the "De Profundis" hall. Above these was the monks' dormitory, which communicated with the church by means of a staircase which can still be seen in the south transept. Along the side of the cloister opposite the church are aligned the kitchen, refectory and calefactory, and finally, on the west side, there is the so-called lay brothers' passage or staircase, running parallel to the grain store, and beyond this the lay brothers' refectory, which provides one of the harshest and most primitive images of Huerta. It consists of a large nave built with massive walls and divided lengthways by a series of five robust columns which give rise to twelve sections of quadripartite ribbed vaulting.

The beauty of the lay brothers' refectory lies in its undisguised lack of refinement and shows how, in the work within the monastery, the rapid advances in architecture were introduced into the buildings at Huerta. In comparison, the monks' refectory, built in the first third of the thirteenth century, comes across as a highly elaborate work of Gothic architecture. The discerning use of large sexpartite vaults in fact made it possible to eliminate the intermediate supports, giving a transparency to the space which the powerful natural lighting added to. This is unquestionably a masterpiece of medieval architecture, given the way in which walls and vaults are connected, and also on account of its size and proportions. The refectory has the inevitable pulpit, with steps set out of the way within the wall, behind an attractive ramping arcade. Between the monks' and lay brothers' refectories is the colossal monastery kitchen, with a square floor plan and the cowl of its monumental chimney in the centre forming an ambulatory around it characterised by colonettes, vaulting and capitals with crockets of undeniable French descent.

The monastery still preserves the walled cemetery with embattled towers, on one of which could be read, until its loss, the following inscription in memory of the great building campaign undertaken in the time of Charles V:

"Alfhonsus nonus fundabat anno 1142 tendit ad perfectionem anno 1551, regnante invictisimo Carolo Cristianísimo 5° Católico Rege Nostro".

Las Huelgas de Burgos.

All those who have written about the Real Monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos remember the mention made of them in the *Cantigas*, when they say,

"De sí en Burgos moraba
E un hospital facía
Él, e su moller labraba
o Monasterio das Olgas".

The builders of the Hospital del Rey right on the pilgrim route to Santiago in the vicinity of Burgos and founders of the nearby Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas (1187) were none other than Alfonso VIII of Castile and his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. The name of Las Huelgas, as Father Flórez states in his *España Sagrada* (1772), comes from the fact that this was "a place of pleasure,

recreation and rest, which in Castilian is called 'huelga', and the founding monarchs took that house to recreate their spirits in the times unoccupied by war". It is also possible that the king had a holiday estate there before the founding of the monastery.

Whatever the case, the foundation is an exceptionally privileged one as regards both temporal and spiritual matters, by the king as well as by Pope Clement III. It is generally accepted that the foundation was the initiative of Eleanor, "who as a believer and a woman, wished to found a convent for women which would shine with royal splendour and with the worship of God, as nowhere else. The king approved the queen's determination and the work got under way..." (Flórez). The nuns who arrived at Las Huelgas in 1187 came from the Navarrese monastery of Tulebras, which was the first Cistercian foundation for women in Spain (1157). The name of the first abbess that has come down to us is Sol, or Misol, as she was also called. In 1199, when Guy was abbot of Cîteaux, the foundation was formally handed over to the order, "declaring that the Abbey and special daughter of Cîteaux had the authority of the Pope and the Cistercian Chapter, and was chosen by the King and Queen for their burial and that of their children" (Flórez). In other words, the king was again thinking of a dynastic pantheon with the presence of a religious order, this time female, which would ensure sustained worship as permanent intercession before the Almighty.

"From then on", adds Flórez, "the King and Queen added to this Royal House with so many properties, exemptions, prerogatives and privileges that it had to be seen to be believed: because in this Prelate [abbess] they formed an Ecclesiastical and Civil Prince, uniting in her what separately could aggrandise others, and united here forms a grandeur without equal, with quasi-episcopal jurisdiction in temporal and spiritual matters over a large area of convents, churches, towns and villages". One of the most complex questions in the early years was the submission to Las Huelgas of the remaining women's abbeys of Castile and Leon, which came to a total of fourteen. King Alfonso VIII put every effort into this enterprise, having the Abbot of Cîteaux himself come to force the seven monasteries then in existence (1199) to recognise Las Huelgas as their mother monastery. That meant, amongst other things, that these monasteries owed obedience to the Abbess of Las Huelgas, who used a mitre and staff, exempting them from that of any bishop.

Its jurisdiction also extended over a total of sixty-four towns, villages and hamlets, forming a sort of diocese, over which the Abbess of Las Huelgas, who was required to be of royal blood, exercised her "total, exclusive authority, like the lords and bishops, having the power to hear criminal, civil and beneficial lawsuits, providing ecclesiastical benefits, granting letters dimissory for orders, licenses to preach and hear confession, exercise the care of souls, enter religion, profess, rear and confirm abbesses, notaries, procurators, form constitutions, move convents, call a synod and impose centuries through their ecclesiastical judges: fortunately it goes against or above all customs of the Church for the Crown to deposit all this in this great lady, the only woman with such privileges: which is why it is a common saying, that if the Pope had to marry (with all due reverence) there would be no more worthy woman than the Abbess of Las Huelgas" (Flórez).

This truly exceptional power was endorsed by both the king and the pope, so that Alfonso VIII, in the founding charter, actually states that "if any of our blood, or foreign to it, should dare to infringe or diminish in any way this our charter of donation and privilege, he shall incur fully the wrath of God Almighty and be condemned with Judas the betrayer to the ravages of hell, and as well as this shall pay the king, in penance, one thousand gold pounds and make restitution twofold to the monastery for the damage he may have caused". Pope Clement III, for his part, stated in the founding bull the ecclesiastical independence of the monastery as regards the bishops "and if any bishop because of this should pass sentence against your persons or the monastery itself, we shall declare this sentence null and void, as passed against the pardons of the Holy Apostolic See". However, all these special privileges expired in 1873, following Pius IX's Bull *Quae diversa*.

In the nineteenth century the monastery was plundered by the Napoleonic troops on their way through Burgos. On the other hand, it was not affected by the general secularisation of 1835, by express request of the local authorities of Burgos, in spite of its small number of nuns, which Madoz, in 1846, put at a total of eight.

Today the community is made up of forty nuns, though the monastery's past grandeur responds to a very different number which can be estimated from the seating in the choir. Counting nuns and lay sisters, there are more than 100 seats, not including the choir for the nuns' secular servants or the twenty-six chaplains who took their place in their own choir located in the church presbytery. In other words, a considerable number of nuns, chaplains and servants inhabited not only the seclusion of the monastery but also the houses and accessory constructions that formed the surrounding courtyards.

The main nucleus of the monastery is made up of church, tower and porch, along with the San Fernando and "Claustrillas" cloisters with their adjacent constructions. The oldest part of the whole site is the twelfth-century Romanesque cloister, known as "Claustrillas", where the simplicity of the capitals tells us something of Cistercian decorative restraint. This part of the monastery is all that remains from the days of Alfonso VIII and Eleanor, and includes the chapel of La Asunción, whose oldest part take us back to the early years of the thirteenth century. This chapel, as Torres Balbás reminds us, could well be the royal palace which Alfonso VIII, according to Tudense, built "like a latter-day Solomon, next to the monastery". The fact is that it mixes palatial elements of civil architecture with delightful Almohad decoration, which incorporated Christian elements of Romanesque tradition when it became a chapel.

This Islamic component is repeated in other parts of the monastery, as in the case of the chapel of El Salvador or the adjacent chapel of Santiago, where Muslim elements such as the marble columns and capitals of the entrance, the pointed horse-shoe arches, the loops and Moorish plant motifs in plaster and the wooden ceiling structure, are a direct reminder of models from Hispano-Muslim architecture.

The thirteenth century saw the construction of the church and the large adjacent cloister, which represent a finished model of Cistercian organisation, following Burgundian prototypes with solutions that are fully Gothic. The work must have begun during the lifetime of Alfonso VIII, when the king recompensed a master mason named Ricardo, although it was completed two years later, during the second third of the thirteenth century. The church has a T-shaped floor plan, broken only by the deep chevet which ends in a pentagonal arrangement whose vaulting makes use of an earlier sexpartite solution. This high chapel houses the altar and the chaplains' choir mentioned above. Four more minor chapels open off the transept on either side, leaving the chapel of Los Clérigos outside the church but joined to the north transept.

The body of the church consists of a nave and two aisles, with the "ladies'" choir, followed by the lay sisters' choir occupying the nave. The architecture is one of the earliest examples of French Gothic in Castile, the nave and aisles being covered with simple quadripartite ribbed vaults, except for the crossing, which is covered with a dome resting on eight ribs.

The nave and aisles are each known by different names; that of the nave being All Saints, while the south or Epistle aisle is named after Saint John and the north or Gospel aisle is named after Saint Catherine. All three contain a magnificent series of tombs of kings, queens and *infantes* and *infan-*

tas, noteworthy on account both of the historical significance of those resting there and of the beauty of the carved stone tombs. The most outstanding are the tombs of the founders, Alfonso VIII and Eleanor of England, who both died in 1214. Their situation in the middle of the "ladies'" choir and their simple but refined stone coffins, decorated with the coats of arms of the two royal families and scenes from the founding of the monastery, give the place added solemnity. Also in this choir are the tombs of the mother and daughter of Saint Ferdinand, both named Berenguela, and of Blanche of Portugal. While that of the younger Berenguela, who was abbess of the monastery (1241-1279), has reliefs showing evangelical themes on the lid and sides in an unmistakable French Gothic style, that of Blanche, daughter of King Alfonso III of Portugal, is decorated solely with the coats of arms of Castile, Leon and Portugal, in skilful combinations.

An account of all these tombs, true marvels of medieval funerary sculpture, would take too long, but suffice it to say that in the Santa Catalina aisle there are various sons and daughters of the founders, as well as Fernando de la Cerda and others, while the San Juan aisle contains female burials of *infantas* and queens, many of whom professed in this monastery, like Constanza "the saint", the daughter of the founders.

The large cloister, built on to the south side of the church, is named after Saint Ferdinand. Today, efforts are being made to recover as much as possible of the original Gothic arcades, which at some point were bricked in. The galleries of the cloister are another example of the coexistence of East and West, of medieval Christian art and the Islamic ornamental world. Its pointed masonry barrel vaults were rendered between 1230 and 1260 with extraordinary Moorish plaster work by masters from Cordoba or Seville.

Of all the buildings opening off the cloister, the chapter house will always stand out on account of its purity of style, in which one can see that the work was interrupted leaving the bases and capitals of the columns undecorated. Four spectacular supports provide the springing point for the fine ribs of the vaults. Amongst the works it houses today is the outstanding Pendón de las Navas, which is in fact part of the field insignia of the caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, known to us as Miramamolín, who in 1212 suffered a great defeat at the hands of Alfonso VIII at the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Though unconfirmed, tradition has it that the knights who collaborated with the monarch in the battle were also buried at Las Huelgas, in the gallery known for this reason as Los Caballeros, on the north side of the church. What we do know for fact is that this is the site of a number of extremely noble tombs, whose sides and lids are covered with coats of arms and some of which also include interesting reliefs.

Next to this gallery and joined to the front of the north wing of the church is a large vaulted atrium lit by a magnificent rose window with a rigid radial structure. From here one has access to the church or to the chapel of Los Clérigos or San Juan, all of this beneath the belfry which in spite of its function can not disguise its military bearing as the final blazon of so much nobility.

All this history still features prominently in the part played by the monastery of Las Huelgas within the female Cistercian family in Spain as head of the twenty existing monasteries belonging to the Federación de la Regular Observancia de San Bernardo.

THE CARTHUSIANS

Saint Bruno and the *Customs of the Carthusians*.

The life of Saint Bruno, who was born in the German city of Cologne in about 1032 and died in 1101, was spent mainly in France and Italy. Trained at the famous cathedral school of Reims, he came to be a teacher and canon there, a life he eventually abandoned following an intimate wish for solitude, silence and meditation. Almost coinciding with the time of the founding of the Cistercian mother-house in Cîteaux, Bruno and six companions visited Grenoble in 1084, and presented themselves before Bishop Hugo, who on seeing them identified them with the seven stars he had seen in a prophetic dream. These are the stars that figure on the coat of arms of the order, indicating a point in his diocese at which to build a church.

The fact is that Bruno and his companions spent six years living an eremitic life a few kilometres from Grenoble, in the Alps, at a height of just over 1,100 metres, in wild and isolated countryside difficult to reach. This is the so-called "desert" of Chartreuse, whence the name Carthusian. Later, called by a former pupil at Reims, now pope with the name of Urban II, Bruno moved to Rome in 1090 where he stayed at the Baths of Diocletian, the future Carthusian monastery in Rome. After turning down the archbishopric of Reggio, he looked for a secluded spot in Calabria, where he founded the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de la Torre, where he died. This spot was unquestionably more pleasant than Chartreuse, and we have a lively description of it by Master Bruno himself, as everyone called him, in a famous letter he wrote to his friend Raül le Verd, provost of the chapter of Reims, in which he says, "I live in lands of Calabria with my religious brothers, some of them very learned, who are on permanent guard waiting for their Lord so as to open up to him as soon as he should call, in a wasteland quite a long way from human habitation in every direction. Of its pleasantness and of its mild, healthy air, of the vast, beautiful plane stretching away between mountains, with its green meadows and flowered pastures, what can I say? How can I describe accurately the view of the hills rising gently all around, the seclusion of the shady valleys, the pleasant abundance of rivers, streams and springs? Neither is there any lack of watered land, nor of varied and fruitful trees."

Then, realising how hedonistic his words were, he adds, "But why do I linger over these things? Surely there are other delights for the wise man, which being divine are more pleasing and useful. However, our weak mind, weary from austere discipline and by the exercises of the spirit, is often relieved by these things and breathes. The bow that is ever tensed slackens and does not serve its purpose." There is in all this a conscious search for balance between solitary nature, in the form of the desert, and the spirit, which makes Bruno add to the letter, "What usefulness and divine joy are brought by the solitude and silence of the desert to he who loves them, is only known to them who have experienced it."

These words speak for Master Bruno's eremitic vocation, though shared with other companions, whence we deduce that the Carthusians reconciled the individual solitude of the hermit with life in community, that is the life of the coenobite, from the Latin *coenobium*, itself from the Greek "koinos", common, and "bios", life. The Carthusian monastery therefore differs from the community life of the Benedictines and the Cistercians as much as it does from the purely eremitic life of the Camaldolese founded by Saint Romuald in Camaldoli, near Florence, in 1012. This, basically, is what makes the Carthusians original.

But when Saint Bruno died in Calabria he had left no written rule, no constitution, no consolidated order as such, just a model of life, a series of ideas gathered in his writings, like those described in the letter to Raúl le Verd and, especially, an extraordinary and heroically ascetic nature. It is enough to read the chapters of the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, or *Customs of Chartreuse*, written in 1127 by Guigo, fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, to gauge that inner strength of Saint Bruno and his first companions, which has stood fast throughout history, as the order's proud claim to fame is that it has never been reformed, because it has never been deformed: *Cartusia nunquam reformata, quia numquam deformata*. However, the *Consuetudines*, which acted as the real constitutions of the order, were altered in different transcriptions in the course of history, adjusting not so much to

the times as to better practices in the order's coenobitic and eremitic life.

It is still striking to read the rules for fasting and meals, which in chapter XXXIII say, "On Monday, Wednesday and Friday we make do with bread, water and, for he who wants it, salt. On Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday we cook ourselves pulses or something similar, and receive wine from the cook (mixed with water), and on Thursday, cheese or some better food...When we eat in the refectory (on Sundays), to the vegetables or pulses is added cheese or some similar allowance, and before supper, fruit or salad, if there is any." But if all of this suggests to us a fairly severe existence, we have to bear in mind that, furthermore, from September to Easter the Carthusians take only one meal a day, and two the rest of the year.

If we look at the schedule of prayer, work and rest, living conditions get even harder, as on a normal day the Carthusian monk gets up at half past five in the morning, and at six o'clock says Prime of the day and Terce of the Office of Our Lady. Half an hour later he recites the Angelus, which is followed by a short period of prayer. At seven the Litanies are recited and the conventual, or community mass is held. One hour later they say private prayer, in some of the chapels of the church or cloister, and Terce of the day and Sext of the Office of Our Lady are recited. At nine there is meditation followed by a spiritual reading. At ten o'clock, Sext of the day and None of the Office of Our Lady. A quarter of an hour later he occupies himself with manual work until eleven, when None of the day is said and the monks eat. At midday, the Angelus and a short break, always in the cells. From one o'clock until two he occupies himself with study and then goes down to the manual work area, without leaving the cell as such. At half past two Vespers of the Office of Our Lady are said, followed by Vespers of the day and the Office of the Dead. At four there is a light meal and a break until five o'clock, when time is spent on spiritual reading and examination of conscience. Half an hour later he says the Angelus and Compline, and he retires to bed at six o'clock. At a quarter past ten he gets up to say Matins and Lauds of the day until two in the morning, when he says Prime of the Office of Our Lady and the Office of Mass and goes back to bed. He gets up again at half past five in the morning and repeats this strict timetable to the sound of the different ringing of the bells.

The *Customs*, were followed, in the days of Prior Saint Anthelm, Guigo's successor at the Grande Chartreuse, by the celebration of the First General Chapter of the order in 1140, which established the patterns and the organisation of the different foundations there were at that time, putting them under obedience to the General Chapter, which was to be yearly, and to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse. These dispositions were followed by others in successive General Chapters which gave an administrative structure to the new Charterhouses being founded in Europe, which were few in number compared with the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries.

In Spain the Order of Saint Bruno was introduced by Alfonso II the Chaste, King of Aragon, who favoured the foundation of Scala Dei (Tarragona) in 1163. From then until the seventeenth century a total of twenty-one Carthusian monasteries were founded, each of which met with very different fortunes in the course of its history, but which in the present European scene form a nucleus of great responsibility. Carthusian monasteries alive today are those of Portaceli (Valencia), Montealegre (Barcelona), Miraflores (Burgos) and Jerez (Cadiz).

In relation with the architectural model for the Carthusian monastery, its nature can be inferred from the *Customs*, though they tell us nothing — nothing at all— about the form or layout of the monasteries. Many other things are also missing from them and Guigo, aware of these limitations, writes in the last chapter of the eighty making up the *Consuetudines*, "We do not believe, however, that in writing this it has been possible to include everything so that nothing at all is missing. But if anything has escaped us it can easily be indicated in private conversation." We can take this to mean that there are other dispositions forming part of unwritten customs which are taken for granted. The point of the *Customs* is that they single out fundamental aspects such as the clear distinction between monks, or fathers, lay brothers, brothers or *données* and novices; between coenobitic life, eremitic life and the more servile state which, under the name of obediences, refers to the various essential occupations such as cook, baker and cobbler, and a whole series of further basic observations, to which the monks in their construction gave the most appropriate and functional form.

Thus, on the basis of a scheme which could be said to belong to the Benedictine tradition, the Carthusian monastery always consists of three basic groupings around three cloisters or courtyards, beginning to with the lesser cloister —so called on account of its smaller size—, around which are arranged the monastery buildings such as the church, the chapter house, the refectory and chapels for individual worship. As the community has monks and lay brothers, the church is also divided in two parts with their corresponding choir stalls. Similarly, there are two chapter houses, one for each, and a wall or door separating them in the refectory, the same as in the church, as can still be seen today in the Carthusian monastery of Jerez.

The large cloister housing the cemetery has the monks' cells grouped around it, initially twelve plus the prior's, then twenty-four, until they no longer have a predetermined number. The cloister consists of a single story and bears no similarity to those of other monastic orders. The passages are long, as the row of cells, like small terraced hermitages, call for a minimum frontage, making these galleries endless perspectives on to which the simple door of each cell opens. These are distinguished with a letter, often the initial of some Biblical verse or sentence of the Holy Fathers, or simply taken from the alphabet. Beside it is the *guichet* or hatch through which food and drink reaches the hermit-monk.

The most obvious characteristic of the Carthusian monastery lies in the cells, whose rooms and their arrangement have remained unaltered throughout the history and geography of the order. Each cell has two storeys; on the ground floor, the entrance and the hatch, a way out to a small garden with an arcade leading to the facilities for washing, the store room for timber and the carpentry workshop, where the monk does manual work. A staircase leads up to the antechamber, the first room on the upper floor, which is known as the Ave Maria on account of the prayer the monk recites mentally when he enters or leaves. After this comes the cubicle where he sleeps, studies and prays, all in a space roughly divided by walls and the elementary furnishings.

The *Consuetudines* say nothing about the distribution of the cells either, as this is taken for granted. On the other hand, it describes in fine detail —like an inventory— the objects in the cell: "The inhabitant of the cell is given, for his bed: straw, strong cloth, a pillow, a cover, a mattress or blanket made of thick sheepskins and covered in rough wool. To wear: two hair shirts, two tunics, two pelisses: one more worn, another better one, and also two cowls, three pairs of stockings, four pairs of sandals, furs, cape, shoes for night and for day, grease to rub on them, two pairs of drawers, a belt, these (the drawers and belt) of thick hemp. And he will not look to the thickness or the colour of everything belonging to the bed or dress, because the lot of all monks, and ours especially, is the humility and wear of the cloths, and roughness, poverty and abjection in everything we use. He also has two needles, thread, scissors, a comb, a razor for the head, a stone (for sharpening) and a leather strop for sharpening."

An equally detailed description is given of the tools for writing and copying manuscripts; the two books he can remove from the library; the cooking utensils (when each originally cooked his own meals); the elements for lighting a fire; the axe and

the adze for working... "To anyone reading this we beg them not to smile or reprehend until he has resided some time amongst great snowfalls and such appalling cold". Thus wrote Guigo, who in 1132 saw the Grande Chartreuse buried under a formidable avalanche of snow which put an end to the life of several monks and called for the construction of a new monastery in a safer place, on its present site.

The cell, in short, is the natural setting for the Carthusian, where he spends practically all his life in silence and solitude. This is why the *Consuetudines* list "so many objects for each one, so that he has no need to leave his cell, something we consider illicit. This, indeed, is never conceded, except to meet in the cloister or in the church".

Finally, the courtyard of the "obediences", where the brothers come and go, with more outside contact, contains the various workshops and storehouses which the procurator supervises and tidies, always in a silence broken only when absolutely necessary.

Carthusian Monastery of Miraflores. Burgos.

On the left bank of the Arlanzón river, not far from Burgos, Henry III the Sufferer raised a small palace which took the name of the valley that lay at its feet, Miraflores, a place where the hunting was plentiful and the countryside pleasant. The palace included a small chapel and ample fences which closed off the royal hunting grounds in which no-one could hunt, graze or fish. This led to constant lawsuits between the king and then the Carthusians with Burgos City Council, as this was common land. The king died in 1406, leaving the work unfinished but expressing in his will the wish to raise a Franciscan convent there: "Having promised to build a monastery of the Order of Saint Francis, in compensation for certain things I was wont to do, I order that my aforesaid executors should do it; and if my aforesaid executors consider it best, that the cost of doing so should be distributed to other monasteries of the said Order that are not in good repair, let them do so and so comply".

Several lustres were to pass before the king's wishes were fulfilled, after overcoming the fierce opposition his son John II met with from Burgos City Council, the Court and even his own favourite Álvaro de Luna. In fact, this attitude on the part of Álvaro was one of the things that weighed against him when the king decided on his execution, since he had always been "disturbing and interfering so that I should not build the church and monastery of Miraflores which I chose for my burial, and that the *maravedís* I ordered to be given should not be delivered or paid" (1435). These words show once more how death came to be the principal force behind so many abbeys, monasteries, charterhouses and convents, with the object of obtaining their patrons' favours with God in the hereafter. This is how things had been until then and this was how they would go on afterwards. At the same time, here, as in other cases, the wish to establish a dynastic pantheon surfaces, combining the aspirations of father and son. The very words of John II on his father's wishes are clear: "I, in respect and consideration of all this, and of the great devotion which King Henry my father and my lord, whom God grant holy Paradise, had for the blessed Lord Saint Francis...And because his wish was to instruct that a monastery be built in devotion to the said blessed Lord Saint Francis which...because of his death he could not do in his lifetime. And I desiring that his good intention be fulfilled and executed by me. And also on account of the great devotion I have to Saint Francis, and the good devotion and the religious intention of the said King Henry my father be fulfilled and executed by me in the service of God. My grace and desire was that my palaces [of Miraflores] be a monastery and bear the name of Saint Francis".

What is curious about this inclination towards the Franciscan Order is that it is not mentioned again and from the start of the new foundation it is the Carthusians that appear. In 1441 the king addressed their General, offering him Miraflores, which he endowed splendidly, assigning 100,000 *maravedís* to build a church, at the same time fixing other incomes consisting of 1,000 pitchers of wine a year, 500 *fanegas* of wheat, the same quantity of barley and 50,000 *maravedís* in money, with the promise to increase this amount if necessary. This Franciscan about-turn towards the followers of Saint Bruno could have some connection with the fact that Queen Mary, the first wife of John II, founded the Carthusian monastery of Aniaga, near Valladolid, that same year 1441, for which reason certain Carthusian priors were at the court in Burgos. What we do know is that the following year Miguel de Ruesta and Juan de las Fuentes, priors of the Carthusian monasteries of Scala Dei and El Paular, took charge of the palace of Miraflores, which was headed by Fray Beregario Strud, a "monk of the mass" at Scala Dei, and Fray Juan de Arévalo, a lay brother at El Paular. Before long new demands arose for the maintenance of a community which was initially estimated to be made up of a prior, twelve monks, eight lay brothers, twelve servants and some guests, though the foundation got under way with only five monks and one lay brother.

The nearly contemporary foundations at Aniago and Miraflores in Castile led the General Chapter to reconsider the old territorial limits of its Carthusian provinces, establishing a new one, Castile, which was independent of the province of Catalonia and included the foundations at El Paular (Madrid), Las Cuevas (Seville), Aniago and Miraflores. John II again increased the endowment to Miraflores, changing the allowances of wheat, barley and wine to 50,000 *maravedís* a year, and furthermore in 1443 he granted them the royal revenues from a total of fifty-seven towns and villages. These were followed by further royal and ecclesiastical privileges and exemptions, and Pope Nicholas V offered five years' pardon to anyone helping in the construction of the monastery, whether with donations or with personal work (1449), while the king granted the charterhouse first refusal when buying fresh or salt fish not only over private individuals but also over other monasteries (1450).

With all these means the work was soon completed, taking advantage of the structure of Henry III's old palace and channelling water through costly aqueducts. The "desert" around it was enclosed and other needs seen to, but when everything seemed to be finished, in 1452 a voracious fire reduced the palace-charterhouse of Miraflores to ashes. This is why the present building corresponds entirely to a new project from the second half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, because as the king died two years later the construction of the new monastery was left in the hands of his children, Henry V and, especially, Isabella the Catholic.

The floor plan and general distribution are exemplary in their completeness and the number of rooms, arranged around courtyards and cloisters of widely varying rank, size and use, all conceived with an impeccable sense of function. A first cloister, called the gatehouse cloister as it provides the entrance to the monastery, leads to the church, which has a single nave with its sacristy and chapels. On one side of the church is the lesser cloister, with the more or less reformed family chapel and the chapter house and refectory. The refectory has a pulpit for reading, which is used on Sundays and feast days, as the remaining days the Carthusians eat alone in their cells. The lesser cloister and the great cloister are connected very close to the prior's cell, which is the largest, as foreseen in the *Consuetudines*. The simple passages rather more than sixty metres long are lined on all four sides with twenty-six cells, distinguished only by a letter from the alphabet, from A to Z, all identically laid out —the Ave Maria room and gallery for work downstairs, the oratorium, library and bed, upstairs— and each with its enclosed garden. The cloister garden is divided into four parts separated by the two main paths which

meet at the central fountain. Cypresses grow in one of them to indicate the cemetery area. No grave, no burial stone, no particular indication, just some wooden crosses presided by a monumental stone cross mark the spot where the Carthusians lie buried, wrapped in their own habits, with no coffin. As Tarín y Juaneda pointed out, "What does it matter that their names should be unknown to the curious who happen to visit these poor graves? In their presence, these consoling words from the Holy Scripture come to mind unbidden: *'Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur'*. In other words, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord' (Revelation, 14, 13). The brothers' cells, for their part, are arranged around their own cloister, known as the cloister of obediences, very close to the courtyard where the storerooms and depositories are grouped, to that of the hospice, that of the kitchen and that of the gatehouse. All this area is deliberately separated from the fathers' area, though well connected with it.

In 1454, the year of the death of John II, Juan de Colonia was contracted to draw up the plans for the Carthusian monastery for the sum of 3,350 *maravedís*. In May of that same year the first stone was laid in the area of the great cloister, where three years later twenty-four of its cells were complete, at the same time as the construction of the church began. The work progressed at a good pace until the funds provided by John II ran out. Apparently, his son Henry IV did not entirely respect these provisions and the work came to a standstill in 1464. It was Isabella the Catholic who fulfilled her father's wishes and resumed construction of the monastery in 1477 until it was practically completed. This is mentioned in a fragment of the inscription in the church atrium, which reminds us that, "*Ecclesiae fabrica, sepulcrorum structua, conventos perfectio, dotisque amplificatio, debetur pietati et devotioni Regina Catholicae Elisabeth*".

But by then the chief master mason, Juan de Colonia, had died (1466), having also been master mason of the Cathedral of Burgos, where he erected the famous traceried spires. His substitute as director of works was the master mason Garci Fernández Matienzo, who was to raise the walls of the church as far as the springing point for the vaults. These were finally built by Simón de Colonia, Juan's son, who finished them in 1488. However, something must have happened to these vaults, because in 1538 Diego de Mendieta was called on to intervene. That same year, the cross was put in place crowning the end gable of the main façade, whose outline exaggerates the true inclination of the roof. The chapels in the church, which were not originally foreseen, were also built in the 1530s, at the same time as various of the monastery buildings were finished. The monastery could be said to have been completed in about 1540, at which point it housed thirty-five monks.

The church is an excellent example of the Castilian Gothic of the second half of the fifteenth century. Its one long nave has room for the presbytery, the monks' choir, the lay brothers' choir and guests' area, all duly separated. The vaulting over the presbytery is especially rich in drawings and complex decoration, in contrast to the extreme simplicity of the church's exterior appearance. The doorway has an elegance typical of the art of the Colonias and stands out for its relief Pietà on the tympanum and the coats of arms of Castile-Leon and of John II on either side of the thin ogee arch. The whole body of the church is poised on the buttresses with slender pinnacles, those at the eastern end being slightly later and different and even more elegant. The simple bell gable has a single opening which faces the coenobitic area, its calls being distinguished with two bells.

There are two ways of talking about its interior. On the one hand, there is an unquestionable spiritual beauty residing there, while on the other, it contains items that are exceptional in the artistic terrain. This is not so by chance, nor is it a contradiction. On the contrary, these are two complementary fields in which sensuous and inner beauty complement one another and are offered to us as two distinct paths, both leading to the Truth. When someone has had the incomparable fortune of walking in the long passages of its cloisters, they remember neither their image nor their style on leaving, they take with them nothing more than a profound impression of silence, a white silence, not sad but vigorous, a silence in order, a silence like the limpid antechamber to the hereafter, a reflection on existence itself. When one speaks of the monastic desert as solitude and silence in God, Miraflores has it and offers it.

As well as that imponderable beauty whose scope exceeds the possibilities of these lines, the Carthusian church encloses one of the most beautiful tombs of the Middle Ages, the free-standing tomb of John II and his second wife, Isabella of Portugal, carved by the sculptor of Flemish origin Gil de Siloe. The contract was drawn up in 1458 and by 1493 the work was finished. Everything about it is striking, from the star-shaped floor plan of the sepulchre, which multiplies the area to be decorated, to the Germano-Flemish style of the sculptures and reliefs. The sharpened sense of observation, the naturalism of the heads, the spontaneity of movement of the figures, the wealth of details, the folds of the drapery, the virtuosity with which the architectural elements are treated, the plant motifs and the animal world that decorate the sides of the sepulchre, all speak for the mastery of Siloe. Characters from the Old and New Testaments amongst purely anecdotal themes, some free-standing and others in relief, all carried out with a skill difficult to equal, accompany the magnificent recumbent figures of the King and Queen on their deathbed. These figures are an example of mastery in the trade, reproducing in alabaster the fine detail of the embroidered cloths and the richness of the jewels and precious stones. John II's crown has been damaged but one can see in the crown on the head of Isabella of Portugal the extremes reached by this sculptor.

To him also we owe the tomb of Don Alfonso, on the Gospel wall, where the *infante* appears alive, kneeling and praying at a magnificent priedieu on which he has left his prayer book. Here the architecture and the sculpture are so intricately fused that it becomes difficult to tell where one ends and the other begins. Both the staging and the backdrop to this mural sepulchre, covered in thistle leaves, weird animals and children tangled in exuberant vegetation, make this tomb in which the *infante* maintains a serene gaze the swansong of Spanish medieval sculpture. What a long way the loquacious wealth of these royal tombs is from the anonymous silence of the Carthusian burials!

The tomb of the *infante* must also have been finished in about 1493. Gil de Siloe was paid, for the two, rather more than 600,000 *maravedís*, a large sum, indeed, but one matching the quality of the work. Three years later the same sculptor began the altarpiece for the Carthusian monastery in partnership with Diego de la Cruz, to whom we owe the gilding and painting. This unusual altarpiece was completed in 1499. Unlike the traditional arrangement of lanes and panels, it used a highly original composition which presented the rich iconography set in a series of circles. John II and Isabella of Portugal, this time in the orant position, appear as the original worshippers, one on either side of the altarpiece. At the bottom are two doors, undoubtedly for the small chapel of El Sagrario behind the altar, where the Eucharist is kept, as happened very early in Carthusian churches.

As well as the celebrant's chair in the presbytery, the church still conserves the beautiful seating from the fathers' choir, the work of Martín Sánchez de Valladolid, who finished it in 1489. Next, a wall with an opening in the centre, with the "Felix Coeli Porta", is the brothers' choir, presided by two altars of its own, which is also usual in Carthusian monasteries. After this second choir, with its own seating and excellent sixteenth-century seating, a railing separates the area reserved for the occasional laity who joined the religious services.

Of the many works of artistic interest kept in the monastery, it is worth mentioning Pedro Beruguete's

Annunciation, the extraordinary *Saint Bruno* carved in about 1635 by the Portuguese sculptor Manuel Pereira, the series of canvases on the life of the founder of the order painted between 1634 and 1637 by the Carthusian Fray Diego de Leyva for the cloisters, sacristy and chapter house, and finally the panel with the portrait of Isabella the Catholic, of about 1497, which is today to be found in the Palacio Real in Madrid.

Antonio Ponz, who visited Miraflores shortly before 1788, having admired its prodigious interior, of which he provides information unknown until then, says, "Much pleasure have I had in ascertaining this information, taken from the seats of the monastery, because it is right to conserve the memory and the name of subjects so worthy of it, who would laugh so much, were they alive today, at the ponderous fatigues of our times! There is no doubt that it would take more than six years to do what they executed in one". The time that has passed since then increases the value of his words.

Santa María de El Paular (Madrid).

When the Carthusian monastery of El Paular was founded, says Ponz, "it is remembered as an impenetrable spot from Rascafría to the rise of the river [Lozoya], because of the denseness of the trees and bushes there were there; in the course of time this denseness was reduced as well as the number of wild animals, although there is no shortage now of boar, deer, fallow deer, wolves, foxes, wild cats, etc. The flat part is the best for white and black poplars. I think there must have been a lot of the black poplars in ancient times all along the river bank and the valley, and it is very likely that the word *populus* (poplar) comes from *pobos*, which means the same, like *pobeda* (poplar grove), and that the old name of *pobolar* should have been turned into that of Paular". In this way, the origin of the names of the Cistercian monastery of Poblet and the Carthusian monastery of El Paular would have been the same.

It is true that old accounts mention El Paular in this way to refer to a spot of great beauty, close to Rascafría, at an altitude of just over 1,100 metres, from which can be seen the highest peaks of the Guadarrama range, which more than double the height of the Carthusian monastery. This cold but not inhospitable place, where the snow abounds in winter ensuring the wealth of its springs in summer, is one of the Spanish Carthusian monasteries which would most easily bring to mind the setting for the Grande Chartreuse, the Great Charterhouse, founded by Saint Bruno close to Grenoble (France).

The animals Ponz refers to are inseparable from the first moments of El Paular, where there once used to be a palace or royal chase which served as the basis for the new monastic foundation, perhaps embracing the intention of creating a complex made up of the palace, a monastery and the pantheon of a new dynasty, that of the Trastamaras. In fact, the confirmation of the privileges granted by the ancestors of King John II to the Carthusian monastery of El Paular, dated in Valladolid on 15 May 1432, clearly shows the support of Henry II, the first Trastamara, and his descendants for this royal foundation: "The King Henry [III] my great grandfather, whom God grant holy paradise, being in charge of a Monastery of the said Carthusian Order which was burned in the war against France, and to unburden his conscience, ordered King John [I] my grandfather, whom God grant holy paradise, to build a completed monastery in his Kingdom of Castile, according to the Carthusian Order".

This John II does not mention his father, Henry III, though in another confirmation of privileges to the Carthusian monastery the latter provides complementary information of great interest. Considering himself the executor of his father's last wishes, he wrote, "I the King gave a public deed by Juan Martínez del Castillo, my chancellor of the seal of purity, which was shown to me by Fray Lope, monk and procurator of the Carthusian Order, according to which it appeared that the king John, my father and my lord, promised under oath to build a monastery of the said order and to begin when the following two months had passed, in a part of his kingdoms where he thought right, and it appears from the said deed that in declaring the said king where he wanted the said monastery built by grace and charity by oath of inheritance it should be in his palaces called El Paular close to Rascafría and in the place of Lozoya..."

At this point it is worth pointing out, the better to understand the geographic and political implications of this decision, that the Carthusian monastery of El Paular today forms part of the province of Madrid, but that at that time it belonged to the Land of Segovia, in whose capital in that same year 1390 took place the Ordenamiento de Segovia by John I, by which the Real Audiencia (Lawcourt) was established in this Castilian city. This important decision, added to the habitual presence of the Trastamara in the Alcázar of Segovia, in which city the Cortes frequently assembled, and the foundation of the Carthusian monastery also in 1390, the year of the death of John I and the beginning of the reign of Henry III, are highly significant. Would it be true to say that the Carthusian monastery of El Paular could have been for Segovia what the monastery of El Escorial was for Madrid? It could have been, except that no Trastamara was ever buried in El Paular; their remains were distributed between the Cathedral of Toledo, the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores and the Hieronymite monastery of Guadalupe.

El Paular, whose monastic buildings are today shared between a Benedictine community and a tourist firm which coincides with what used to be called the *monjía* —the monks' area— and the *frailía* —the area for lay brothers and guests— has seen varying fortunes, so that it is not a shadow of what it came to be before disentailment (1835), and the supposed restorations of the twentieth century have done little to help either.

The arrangement contains all the elements that go to make up a Carthusian monastery, but the distribution is original, to say the least, in view of the parallel arrangement of its rooms, which alters the usual sequence of the Carthusian monasteries. If we add to this not only the royal palace of Henry II which used to stand there and of which there are important remains, but also the enlargement ordered by Henry III in 1406, the year of his death, things become even more complicated.

Unlike the case in other orders, in which the cloister forms the nucleus of the monastery complex, here it is the church that forms the backbone of the Carthusian monastery, with the monks' area on its north side, whereas the royal palaces, the area for lay brothers and visitors and the hospice are to the south. The church is a perfect example of a Spanish Carthusian church, with its elongated ground floor proportions and its single somewhat narrow nave, which includes the following differentiated areas starting from the west: a covered atrium, a space for the laity, separated by a railing by the Carthusian Francisco de Salamanca (1492) which is still in place, the lay brothers' choir which, with the dividing wall —now destroyed—, two altars and the door communicating with the fathers' choir, repeated the same arrangement still preserved at Miraflores; the fathers' choir, whose exceptional sixteenth-century seating was probably the work of the Segovian sculptor Bartolomé Fernández and is now in the convent of San Francisco el Grande in Madrid; the presbytery presided by the extraordinary Flemish Gothic polychrome altarpiece from the end of the fifteenth century, with several scenes from the Life of Christ, with the image of the monastery's titular, Saint Mary of El Paular, in a stone altarpiece style; a small *sacrarium* reached by two doors at the base of the altarpiece, that is a *sacrarium* conceived in the fifteenth century; the tabernacle or monumental eighteenth-century great *Sacrarium*, an extraordinary work in Andalusian marble by the Andalusians Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo and Teodosio Sánchez Rueda (1725); and finally the chapel of El Sagrario which forms part of the same Baroque project and which represents a place of profound

Carthusian significance in its seclusion, because here is monumentalised what had always been a narrow space for Eucharistic worship, now ample, full of light and colour, in the company of various well-loved images, but very especially of the Carthusian fathers *par excellence*: Saint Bruno, Saint Hugh, Blessed Nicolo Albergati and Saint Anthelm. Apart from the different styles and periods of which the church of El Paular is made up, from the typological and spatial viewpoint it is one of the richest examples in the history of Spanish architecture, unsurpassed by any other monastic church. For their part, the connection between the church and the chapels opening off its south side, the unusual location of the adjacent chapter house, the sacristy and even the striking tower, built on to the north wall, all embraced by two long passages, make the whole of this nucleus something very out of the ordinary.

The lesser cloister, also called the cloister of La Recordación, opens on to several buildings, including the large refectory with its attractive pulpit for readings. This pulpit is considered the work of the Segovian master of Moorish origin, Abderramán, to whom the first designs for El Paular are attributed.

Another master who also worked a lot in Segovia, Juan Guas, built the great cloister between 1484 and 1486, in a style we could call Isabelline, full of imagination, with a series of ogee arches whose points are transmitted to the vaults of the galleries on to which the doors of the fathers' cells open. The cloister garden has a canopy in the same Gothic style, but completed by Herrera, which houses a fountain in its interior. This can be considered a characteristic trait of Spanish monasteries, which monumentalize the crossing of the two main axes of the cloister, something which can also be seen in the monastery of Guadalupe. Conceived as a Christian Tower of the Winds, the sides have different sundials and moondials which mark the passage of the days, contemplating the fleeting nature of life and the nearness of death in that corner of the cloister, set aside as a cemetery. Only the tomb of the bishop of Segovia, Melchor de Moscoso, has more presence in this ground, in which for centuries anonymous Carthusians were buried at the foot of a stone cross.

Other courtyards such as that of El Ave María, with the monumental entrance to the charterhouse attributed to Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, born in neighbouring Rascafría; exterior chapels such as that of Los Reyes, in the so-called La Cadena courtyard, where Fray Lope Martínez, the first prior of El Paular, took possession of the monastery, accompanied by six Carthusians from Scala Dei (Tarragona); buildings such as the excellent library, next to the prior's cell, with good mural paintings; doorways such as that of the church, probably by Guas and presided by the Pietà, as in Miraflores, with the Latin inscription in which the Virgin asks if your suffering is the same as hers, would make up an endlessly fascinating visit to El Paular and its distant farms which, like the one at Talamanca, still survive. As we bid farewell to this Carthusian monastery, we must remember that from the mills, ponds and dams it used for manufacturing paper came the pages on which was printed the first edition of the *Ingenioso hidalgo D. Quijote de la Mancha*.

Carthusian Monastery of Granada.

In Madoz's *Diccionario* (1847) we are told that, "In Granada there were 19 convents, counting the three monasteries of San Basilio, La Cartuja and San Jerónimo. In them there were delicate paintings, fine sculptures, select libraries and admirable architectural work, which has almost all disappeared..." Later he says that La Cartuja "was a museum of rare delights, and for this very reason greed has set upon it with greater interest: it is a miracle that there are still remains of the rich decorations in the church and the sacristy." Indeed, the immediate effect of disentailment was the sale of the monastery and its subsequent demolition (1843) to make use of the materials. Only the church, the lesser cloister and adjacent buildings were saved by a Royal Order. But amongst the ruins important remains were left standing, such as the Priory, with an extremely interesting courtyard with porticoes on its two storeys, which was demolished in 1943. After a century of neglect and demolition, therefore, it certainly is a "miracle", as Madoz says, that we can still see what is left of the Carthusian monastery of La Asunción de Nuestra Señora, in Granada.

The distinct appearance of this Carthusian monastery in relation to the medieval Castilian examples provides a lesson in plastic and chromatic expressiveness, showing the new image of the Carthusian cloister of the eighteenth century, which coincides with the expressive peak of the Baroque style. Art and spirituality seem to use analogous arguments in such a way that medieval moderation is now followed by the extravagance of the Baroque sermon, showing a surprising vitality on the eve of its decline. This is undoubtedly a last move, in common with other religious orders, to strengthen monastic life, which in Europe and America was not to survive the Age of Reason. This could be the ultimate interpretation of the Carthusian monastery of Granada, which seems to be the opposite extreme to the sombre nature of Saint Bruno's first foundations, even though its spirit lies in the observance of the rule that proudly boasted that it had never been reformed. In this sense, the Carthusian monastery of Granada, in its arrangement and distribution, leaving aside the style, is still recognised as such.

On one side of the Camino de Alfajar, which used to be called the Camino de Viznar, leading to the Puerta Elvira in Granada, is the land on which first the old and then today's new charterhouses were built, all on a large enclosed site. There Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, the Gran Capitán, had two orchards, called Aynadamar and Los Abencerrajes, which he donated in 1513 as a contribution to the old dream of El Paular of founding a daughter house in Granada, giving it the title of Santa María de Jesús and making it the depository of his mortal remains. Before long the work began according to the design by Fray Alonso de Ledesma, a lay brother from El Paular. He was "devote, exemplary and averagely knowledgeable about buildings", but for a series of reasons they decided to move to a different site nearby, leaving behind what since then has been known as the Cartuja Vieja, in the vicinity of the Jesuits College.

This change displeased the Gran Capitán, who according to Vallés said, "if they [the Carthusians] change the site, I am not obliged to keep my promise". From then on he had nothing more to do with the charterhouse and when he died in 1516 he was buried in the convent of San Francisco Casa Grande, opposite his house in Granada, and his remains were later moved to the monastery of San Jerónimo. The following year work began on the Cartuja Nueva on a more appropriate site nearby, with "many groves and plenty of waterways and large ponds. Some of them are so big that they are more than one hundred and fifty paces around, surrounded by tall cypresses. In different parts of this countryside four springs or wells arise with the best water to be had in all the land, which together in a pipe come to two fountains which go to the convent's two cloisters. Running along the top of the hill is a canal from the Alfajar spring, which drops down in two different places three *picas* high. From this house can be seen almost all of the Vega de Granada, the Sierra de Cogollos, the Sierra de Colomera, Moclín, Alambra and the Sierra Nevada..." With these words Vallés described the emplacement of the new Carthusian monastery, which also changed its former titular for the Assumption of Our Lady.

The new building was also designed by the lay brother Fray Alonso de Ledesma, while the progress of the works was the direct responsibility of Fray Rodrigo de Valdepeñas, also from El Paular, who was rector, inspector and finally first prior of the Granada charterhouse. All of this happened in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the work

went on until the following century, when the finishing touches were made to the lesser cloister, which measures fifty-three metres on each side and has an arcade on Doric columns, and to the church. Later, in the eighteenth century, the church was added to with the *sacrarium* and the sacristy, so that the monastery has Gothic elements, such as the ribbed vault of the lay brothers' chapter house, which is the oldest part of the complex, and the delirious baroque forms covering the interior of the sacristy.

In spite of so many losses, we can clearly see here the nature of the lesser cloister in the organisation of life in a Carthusian monastery, as the only buildings that have survived in the vicinity are precisely the communal areas such as the church, the monks' chapter house, that of the lay brothers, the so-called "De Profundis" hall and the refectory, apart from the private chapels.

The spatial organisation of the church is analogous to that of El Paular, with a first area at the western end for the faithful, a second space for the lay brothers' choir and farther on the monks' choir opening on to the altar. The altar was designed by Francisco Hurtado (1710) as a baldachin with a beautiful and bold formal and material conception, from the marble altar table to the mirrors covering the columns around the monastery's titular, by the Granadine José de Mora. What is remarkable about the process of transformation of the sanctuary of the Carthusian churches, where Eucharistic worship saw a gradual increase, is that the monumental *sacrarium* is joined to the church via a curtain. The open conception of the altar-baldachin means that the *Sancta Sanctorum* can be seen from the church without the need to build a chapel behind for the community, as at El Paular. The meditation which used to call for private withdrawal can now take place from the church and the choir stalls. However, the former option is not denied here, as there are two small oratories situated on either side of the *sacrarium*, with access from the presbytery.

Inside and also by Francisco Hurtado, who planned all this part of the church (1704-1720), with the collaboration of the sculptors Risueño, Mora and Cornejo, stands the great tabernacle in red and black marble from Sierra Elvira and Cabra, housing the *sacrarium* itself. On the corners of the tabernacle are the four cardinal virtues and crowning it a representation of Faith. On the walls are four more images of special devotion in the Cartuja de Granada: Saint Joseph, Saint Bruno, Mary Magdalene and Saint John the Baptist. On the dome, painted by Palomino (1712), a complex celestial vision unfolds, emphasising the figure of Saint Bruno holding a monstrance. In other words, the rich iconography of the Carthusian monastery is a continuous exaltation of the Order of Saint Bruno, who since his canonisation in 1623 has seen endless representations, his worship having been prohibited and only tolerated after the fifteenth century.

The church sacristy (1724-1764) is conceived as a real chapel, presided by an important altar in the chevet with a sculpture of Saint Bruno, but what is really exceptional is a small carving of the founder of the order which is exhibited on the altar table. This highly refined work by José de Mora is, in the words of Orozco, "an acute expression of the mystic Carthusian soul". In turn, as an expression of the artistic soul of the Granadine Charterhouse, a team of plasterers, carpenters, sculptors and painters, under the outstanding direction of José Bada, produced a work which took Spanish art to the limits of what is possible, as the freedom in the conception and execution of the interior decoration of the sacristy is such that a single step in the same direction is hardly imaginable. It has something of an unfathomable formal polyphony at the service of religion, offering a world without limits, only density and depth in an infinite image.

By contrast, the oldest parts of the Charterhouse around the lesser cloister, such as the refectory or the chapter houses, all resembling chapels, show the clear simplicity of more austere times. In these buildings the paintings of the lay brother Fray Juan Sánchez Cotán take on greater force and special significance. Cotán is universally known for those still lifes in which the Carthusian spirit lies in their simplicity. After all, he professed in 1604 in El Paular, before being transferred to Granada. To him and to Vicente Carduco, who also worked for El Paular, we owe a series of paintings depicting the most outstanding passages from the history of the Carthusian Order.

THE PREMONSTRATENSIANS

Saint Norbert and the Canons Regular.

The particular name of this religious order comes from that of the abbey of Premontré, in France, which in turn refers to a miraculous event in the life of its founder Norbert of Xanten. Norbert was born in about 1080 in Xanten, an old Roman town on the road from Cologne to Nimega, where tradition has it that Siegfried, the hero of the "Nibelungs", was born. This other flesh-and-blood hero, Norbert, belonged to an aristocratic family whose comfort he did not disdain until one day, like a latter-day Saint Paul, he was knocked off his horse by lightning, something he saw as a divine action, to which he answered, "Lord, what will you have me do?". This took place, according to his biographers, in 1115, and his life from then on was one of prayer, preaching and reform of the clergy, spent in strict evangelical poverty, in the midst of a generalised climate in favour of a renovation of the Church, initiated by Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085).

During a retreat in the forest of Saint-Gobain, between Laon and Soissons, Norbert had a vision in which a group of men in white clothes passed before his eyes singing psalms as they made their way to a ruined chapel. He interpreted this as a premonitory sign of what he had to do —that is, found a new order. God had foretold it to him, had shown him in advance, hence the name Premonstratensian, from the Latin *praemonstratum*, which we can translate as "shown beforehand", and which in French is *premonstré*. This was the name he gave to the abbey he built there with his followers, on whom he imposed the canonical rule of Saint Augustine, the Premonstratensians therefore being canons regular.

The so-called Rule of Saint Augustine, which in fact derives from his letters and sermons, showed differing degrees of intensity in its observance, so that alongside the *Ordo primus*, with its less rigorous conception, there arose the *Ordo novus* followed by the Premonstratensians. This severe form of the Augustinian rule, also know as the *Ordo monasterii* (Order of the monastery), was the one Norbert imposed in Premontré in 1120, reminding his followers that "Charity, toil, fasting, even dress, silence, obedience, mutual respect, deference to one's superiors, all these points are clearly established by the Rule". Later, as regards the Order's habit, Norbert adds, "According to the Gospel, the angels that witness the Resurrection are dressed in white. Following the custom of the church, penitents dress in wool. In the Old Testament, the Levites also dressed in woolen clothes, but in the sanctuary they had to wear linen clothes. It therefore seems that white clothes must be worn following the example of the angels, and wool against the flesh as a sign of penitence. In the church and during the mass, linen will be worn".

This then was the direction taken by life in the community, something which the Pemonstratensians made compatible with a vocation towards others through preaching and the sacraments, since they saw the abbey as the centre of parochial activity. Their place in history is halfway between that of the monastic orders and the mendicant orders, between the monastery and the convent, between coenobitic isolation and the need to communicate with the society they lived in, though since the twelfth century it has seen important changes in every sense.

The same year that Norbert was promoted to the archbishopric of Magdeburg, in 1226, Pope Honorius II approved the order and the number of

abbeys began to multiply rapidly, from Hungary and the Low Countries to Spain. In Central Europe they were especially widespread and the most optimistic accounts speak of a total of 1,300 foundations.

Norbert died in 1134 and it was his disciple and successor, Hugh of Fosses, who really organised the order with a sense of pragmatism. The spiritual foundation was followed now by its practical structuring, beginning with a territorial organisation in circaries, a name which comes from the Latin and refers both to the *circator*, or inspector of the abbeys, and to those who are close or around (*Quae circa sunt*), allowing the formation of a religious province. In Spain there were two circaries, that of Gascony, shared with the south of France and including the abbeys of Navarre, Catalonia and the Balearics, and Spain, which included the lands of Castile and Leon, where forty abbeys were founded, amongst them, as well as Retuerta, Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia) and La Vid (Burgos). After varying fortunes and a failed attempt by Philip II to reform the Premonstratensian abbeys by means of the Hieronymites, the Spanish foundations of Premontré achieved independence, giving rise in 1573 to the Congregación Premonstratense Hispánica, extinguished, like other orders, in 1835.

With regard to the statutes that governed the life of the Premonstratensians, many points coincide with those of the Benedictine and Cistercian Orders, which is natural, as these were tried and tested experiences which, as in the architecture and the organisation of the monastery, offered a safe point of departure. It was Hugh of Fosses who in about 1135 drew up the first statutes, which later went through various subsequent draftings. Their sixty-three chapters, grouped under four main headings or Distinctions, lay down the proper conduct for the canons as concerns the liturgical celebrations, the day's hours for prayer, the work timetable, the readings during meals, illness, clothes and personal appearace (tonsure, hygiene, etc.). Another of the Distinctions details the different posts and responsibilities of the members of each abbey, from the abbot, the precentor and the rest, down to the porter. As well as the whole range of faults, to which it devotes another Distinction, the last of the four refers to the General Chapter which was to be held annually (*annuale colloquium*), to the relationship between the mother abbey and its daughter houses, inspectors and endless details which close the circle of the uses and customs of the Premonstratensian Order.

There was no novel architectural project in its monasteries; in the same way that the conception of the order falls between that of the monastery and that of the convent, and in the same way that its statutes reveal a spirit whose origin can be traced back to the *Carta Caritatis* of the Cistercians —and in some passages is a literal copy—, the general conception of the Premonstratensian abbey belongs to the mainstream of the great monastic architecture which preceded it in history, where only the specialist can detect variations like the Abbot's chapel or the so-called Dediserio, which had not appeared earlier. In this respect, the existence of a cloister around which the communal buildings are arranged on the ground floor, and the idea of reserving the upper floor over the sacristy and the chapter house for the fathers' communal dormitory, as well as the area for lay brothers, with their corresponding refectory and dormitory, make up the typical and most complete monastery, without here going into the details of those monasteries that admitted canons and canonesses. The order itself was to undergo important changes affecting some of the most characteristic buildings in the abbey, such as, for example, the conversion of the communal dormitory into individual cells, so that we must always take into account the circumstances of the time if we are not to reduce a changing reality in history to false stereotypes.

SANTA MARÍA LA REAL. AGUILAR DE CAMPOO (PALENCIA).

Of all the Spanish Premonstratensian monasteries, that of Santa María la Real in Aguilar de Campoo, in Palencia, is of special significance, not only because it is one of the earliest foundations, along with Retuerta and La Vid, but because the positive and negative facets of its particular history reach extremes that can hardly be equalled. We know that it has links with the first steps of the order in Spain taken by Sancho Ansúrez, nephew of Count Pedro Ansúrez de Valladolid, and Domingo Gómez de Camdespina, son of Queen Urraca and Count Gómez de Camdespina. The former founded Retuerta, in Valladolid, and the latter, as we shall see later, the monastery of La Vid, in Burgos, both of which are daughter houses of Casedieu in France.

Not long afterwards, Alfonso VII founded the abbey of Santa María la Real in Herrera de Pisuerga, also in the province of Palencia, and gave it to the abbot of Retuerta. In 1169, the foundation moved to Aguilar de Campoo, at which moment the abbey became identified with that "pleasant and delicious" spot —as it is described by all the authors— on the left bank of the Pisuerga river, giving rise to one of the most important medieval monasteries in Castile, thanks to the royal favour of Alfonso VIII.

Its long history was brought to an end in the nineteenth century, like that of so many monasteries, but in this case fate —or rather man— was particularly cruel to this precious pearl of medieval culture. For Miguel de Unamuno, in *Andanzas y visiones españolas*, the ruins of Aguilar de Campoo were like a reflection of our spiritual ruin. "The ruins of Santa María la Real, convent that was of the Premonstratensians! Ruins! Ruins in which the finches and sparrows nest, chirping their joy at living outside of history, and amidst nearby greenery passes the clear water that descends from chalky ridges. And the ruins continue their ruin. There are missing capitals that have been taken to the Archaeological Museum in Madrid. This is pruning by science. Science? And in the same way the whole of Spain is going to the Museum. And a Museum is the most terrible of cemeteries, because the unfortunate dead are not left in peace! And then ruins of cemeteries, ruins of tombs..."

When Unamuno wrote these travel notes in 1921, the monastery had already suffered the neglect of secularisation and the subsequent uncontrolled plunder, as Parcerisa reflected in his lithographs. But here the plunder was also official and governmental, as after it was declared a National Monument in 1866, capitals, columns, mouldings and architectural elements were carried off, as well as some tombs, which in 1871 were sent to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, as Unamuno reminds us. Later, in 1932, the odd item was diverted to the Fogg Museum, at the University of Harvard (USA), to balance along with other artistic objects the return of the exceptional eleventh-century sarcophagus lid of the son of Count Pedro Ansúrez, which had come from Sahagún and had also left Spain and is today in this same Madrid museum.

When I say capitals, barbarously and selectively removed *to save them*, I am referring to one of the finest collections of twelfth-century figurative capitals in medieval Spanish sculpture. When I say architectural elements, absurdly transferred, I am referring for example to a shaft on which is written part of the history of the construction of the monastery. The shaft tells us who built the chapter house it was taken from and when: "*Era MCCXLVII fuit factum hoc / opus, Domunicus*". When people say that stones also talk, as well as being taken in its figurative sense on account of all they bring to mind, it should also be taken literally, since medieval architecture, like an open book, left a written record behind it of the process of construction of its hardened skin, so that the building itself became the most highly prized archive and document. With these pages torn out, we lose another immaterial treasure of incalculable value, as happened at Aguilar de Campoo, where many inscriptions were destroyed, some of which we know of thanks to

the people who transcribed them before they were irremediably lost.

On top of all these misfortunes was added another no less harmful which was its supposed restoration between 1955 and 1970, approximately, a building campaign that disfigured and destroyed the essence of the monastery architecture as such, because it failed to grasp the character of a Premonstratensian monastery. But, as Unamuno said in reference to Santa María la Real, "Even a ruin can be cause for hope". The firm determination of the architect José María Pérez González has returned the lost dignity of the monastery of Aguilar de Campoo, which, as home to new and noble uses such as the Centro de Estudios del Románico, a Museum, a Technical School and a Secondary School, has been skilfully recovered from so much loss and so much ruin.

The history of this monastery has a legendary and remote prologue in a foundation long before the arrival of the Premonstratensians in Aguilar (1169), as it used to be the site of a monastery linked to the Benedictine Order. This legend, which has episodes analogous to that of many other miraculous finds of images and relics, is told by Father Antonio Yepes in his *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito* (1610), which gives a historical account of all the monasteries belonging to the Benedictine Order. He recounts that there, Alpidio, hunting in the forest in about 820, found "a church founded beside a rock and below it was another built with three titles, that is —in keeping with the style of the time— it had three altars and on each altar were relics... The first was dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, because beneath the altar stone were the relics of these two apostles, and in the other church, benath the cliff, he also found three altars; on the largest, which was in the middle, there were relics of Our Lady to be seen; by chance some part of her sacred vesture..." Alpidio told his brother Opila about the find, and decided to build a monastery on this spot, of which Opila himself "built the floor of the monastery and raised the walls. Twenty years later, after the foundation of the monastery of Santa María de Aguilar, or rather of San Pedro y San Pablo, as this monastery was first called, although it later changed its name, the monks going down to live at the lower church..."

These nebulous accounts are followed by many others regarding donations and the order that took charge of the monastery, as it seems to have been linked to the Benedictines. For Yepes, the first abbots after Opila were Benedictines, while others maintain that they were secular canons. All of this was before the first abbot Miguel began the monastery's Premonstratensian period in the twelfth century, which gave the architecture its character. After that and during the thirteenth century the essential image of the monastery took shape, though in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries important work took place, such as the upper cloister with the individual cells for the monks communicating them with the new raised choir at the western end (1600), or the large galleries which grew up between 1787 and 1790 in the area of the orchard, on the eastern side of the abbey.

The cloister, with the four sides we might call canonical, being habitual —those of the church, chapter house, refectory and grain store—, has an interesting arrangement of pointed arches on the ground floor which house minor series of three arches on colonettes, whose capitals have suffered every possible misfortune. The architecture, apart from the seventeenth-century second floor, shows different moments, from the oldest forms in the Romanesque tradition, such as the monks' door communicating the cloister with the church, to the more refined Gothic forms of the thirteenth century, such as the general vaulting of the galleries, as we must remember that some of the previously existing structures were made use of for the new monastery. In this respect, it is the church that offers variations in its proportions and building elements as well as in the definition of the chevet. This is obviously an enlargement of the previous one, as is recorded on the floor of the church, when a Romanesque solution was replaced by another unquestionably Gothic one, with the same Romanesque-Gothic sequence repeated in the pillars, vaults and windows of the church, with many undefined intermediate solutions which make an accurate interpretation as difficult as it is interesting.

If we wanted to find the truly Premonstratensian corners of Aguilar, we would have to go to the gallery of the chapter house to see first the elements common to other monasteries, such as the sacristy; the *armariolum*, which must have also been used to keep the little books of meditation for reading in the *mandatum* gallery parallel to the church; the beginning of the staircase leading up to the old community dormitory; the chapter house, the passage to the orchard and the beautiful monks' hall. But there are other buildings associated with the uses of the order, such as the chamber over the south apse of the chevet, open to the community dormitory, or, in particular, the so-called Capilla del Abad, behind the present sacristy, which is one of the oldest parts of the complex and which is recorded as having been consecrated along with the monastery church by the Bishop of Burgos Don Mauricio in 1222, that is one year after the first stone of Burgos Cathedral was laid by the same prelate.

The Premonstratensian features can be traced in other more remarkable elements such as the bell gables, which in my opinion are one of the order's most emblematic exterior elements, giving the traveller advance warning of the presence of a house of the Order of Saint Norbert. Other orders, such as the Cistercians or the Carthusians, who also rejected bell towers, made use of bell gables, but these are always humble and unpresuming, without that imposing and expressive sense to be found in that of Santa María de la Real over the plane of the western façade, lending the church a truly surprising monumental sightliness. From here, from this medieval image of its bell gable, it is easier to understand the Baroque bell gable of La Vid, as over and above the style there remains the spirit of the order.

Nuestra Señora de La Vid (Burgos).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Premonstratensian and historian of the order Esteban José de Noriega, who had professed at La Vid at the age of fourteen, recounted an old legend about the origin of this Burgos foundation, one of the first in the Spanish circary. The learned Noriega —who was Professor of Theology at the order's college in Salamanca— tells how King Alfonso VII, while out hunting in 1132 in some woods "and coming across some undergrowth and brambles of a small town called San Pedro de Villanueva, God opened the eyes of this emperor's soul and he saw some angels who were incensing in that place of such dense undergrowth; with which wonderful news he had people called to open the way and clear the overgrown wilderness of scrub. Having completed this task a vine was discovered and under it an excellent image of the Virgin Mary, a relic of the Goths, as she was seated as they used to do... The emperor, rejoicing at this discovery, informed his brother the Blessed Abbot Santo Domingo (who with the King's consent had founded his poor monastery of Montesacro) whose holy image was carried in procession by the Premonstratensian Canons authorised by the emperor Don Alonso, his sons Don Sancho and Don Fernando, King García of Navarre, the Count of Barcelona Don Ramón and other personages and deposited it with the utmost veneration in the said Montesacro".

That abbot by the name of Domingo was none other than Domingo Gómez de Camdespina, son of Urraca and Count Gómez de Camdespina, who along with other Castilians supported Urraca in the queen's comings and goings with her second husband Alfonso the Battler. The fact is that Domingo Gómez and Sancho Ansúrez travelled to France, where they met the person who as from the sixteenth century would be Saint Norbert. They en-

tered the Premonstratensian monastery of Saint Martin in Laon and they returned to Spain where they founded the monasteries of Santa María de Retuerta, in Valladolid, and Santa María de Monte Sacro, in Soria. From the latter and following the miraculous discovery of the image of the Virgin, Domingo moved to the place in Ribera de Duero where the present monastery of Nuestra Señora de La Vid stands, not far from Aranda de Duero.

The complex is dominated by the powerful body of the church transept and the flat bell gable over the gateway, but hardly anything remains of its medieval past beyond a few elements in the cloister, as after suffering other misfortunes, church and monastery were completely rebuilt in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If Aguilar de Campoo can be said to show the medieval image of a Spanish Premonstratensian abbey, La Vid represents the next sequence, that of an abbey crossing into the Modern Age with all the changes that this called for. Then came the disentailment and secularisation of 1835 and a Premonstratensian was left in charge of the monastery. The church, as on so many occasions, served as a parish church. This was, after all, one of the objectives pursued by Saint Norbert in the twelfth century.

Its possessions scattered, amongst them the library of some 40,000 volumes, and the monastery abandoned, in 1865 it was purchased by the Province of the Philippines of the Order of Saint Augustine as a house of study and noviciate. The division in the order gave rise in 1926 to the Augustinian Province of Spain, and the former Premonstratensian monastery became the home of the Interprovincial Noviciate of the Spanish Augustines, with a truly remarkable library, archive and museum. Suffice it to say that the library, from which barely 2,000 volumes were rescued, today contains more than 85,000, including real bibliographic gems that make it one of the most important libraries in the country. Paradoxically, the name of Saint Augustine once more unites those canons regular who followed the rule of the bishop of Hippo and the present Augustinian fathers, devoted to the analogous tasks of formation and renewal.

Having recovered, with dignity, all its buildings, the oldest part of the monastery consists of the cloister, which, though rebuilt in the sixteenth century, like the church, is the same size as the original must have been. Here we can still see the entrance and the windows that lit the chapter house, with its unmistakable, playful Romanesque style, a twelfth-century work with reminiscences of Silos. On this same western side there is still the space for the *armariolum*, where a few liturgical books and prayer books were kept; the present pantheon, where the founder is now buried, must have been the old sacristy, and so on, successively; more or less altered, the basic cloistral buildings can still be located. On the opposite side to the church, following the norm, is the refectory running parallel to the gallery, instead of being perpendicular to it as is habitual in the Cistercian monastery. Finally, on the western side is the storehouse, still visible in the present museum hall.

This cloister was reformed in the sixteenth century with still Gothic vaults, during the period in which Íñigo López de Mendoza was the commendatory abbot appointed by Pope Leo X in 1516. While as a general rule the commendatory abbots took advantage of the revenues of the monasteries, bringing ruin on them, in La Vid it was the opposite. With the abbey in total material and spiritual decline, Íñigo brought new life to it, beginning the work of the new church, which he conceived as his own pantheon, as we shall see later.

In the eighteenth century a second storey was added to the cloister, in a faltering Ionic style, and a measure of comfort was introduced in 1766 when, "with a view to the convenience and shelter of the matins and the residents of the convent and considering also that the old cloisters were and are open and uncomfortable, both in cold and snowy weather and in great heat, this venerable community decided to cover them", in the way in which they can be seen today on the ground floor.

The growth in the number of monks during the sixteenth century and the abandonment of the communal dormitories made it necessary to build a new wing for the monastery to house the cells which face south. Today this forms the main façade of the monastery, which is at right angles to the façade of the church and forms a courtyard. The style is sombre and not unlike that of El Escorial, and there is an attractive classicist doorway with an image of Saint Norbert, which must have been completed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. At the same time, the building's main staircase was being built, located between the old cloister and the one built in 1754, during the abbacy of Bernardo Hernáez, which brought a total reorganisation of the old monastery buildings, all on the eve of an inevitable crisis which was to bring this brilliant architectural history to an end.

The church is undoubtedly the most remarkable part of the monastic complex, for which essential information is provided by the inscriptions that figure on the eighteenth-century coffins or Baroque tabernacles beside the main chapel, which refer to the Zúñigas. The first says, "Here lies the Extremely Eminent Cardinal Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, Bishop of Burgos and Abbot of this Monastery. Founder of the main chapel of this church, and of the hospital of this Town. Passed away in 1533. His body was deposited in the Convent of Aguilera and once concluded the high chapel of this church his bones were transferred to this same site. 1579". Íñigo, who barely set foot in La Vid, since as well as being bishop of Coria, archbishop of Burgos and appointed cardinal by Clement VII, spent many years away from Spain because of his links with Charles V from the years when he was still prince in the Low Countries. Íñigo was the emperor's ambassador in the court of Henry VIII of England, having accompanied him in Italy where he intervened in affairs at Naples. He exchanged correspondence with Erasmus of Rotterdam and intervened in important affairs of state. Íñigo's personality was such that at la Vid, as well as paying for the work that buried the medieval image of the monastery, he put an end to perpetual abbacies, which from then on were all triennial, so called because of the duration of their term of office.

Íñigo's personality explains the character of the work done, as it is much like a funeral chapel in the way it is powerfully centralised beneath the star-shaped dome. I would not be surprised if his original wish was to be buried in a free-standing tomb in the transept crossing, beneath the keystone of the great lantern, along the lines of what he had seen in the Capilla del Condestable in Burgos, at whose cathedral he had been titular. For whatever reason, his remains were placed very late in a lateral niche in the presbytery, opposite the one where those of his brother repose. His brother, Francisco de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, Count of Miranda, ordered the high chapel of the church to be built along with his brother the cardinal, who had died in 1536.

The chevet of the church was begun between 1522 and 1534, during its patrons' lifetime, with work by Sebastián de Oria and the person Ceán calls his nephew and disciple Pedro Rasines. A commission came from Burgos to see how the work was progressing, made up of Bartolomé de Pirienda, Juan Vizcaíno and Juan de Rasines, who returned to the monastery again in 1547 "by order of D. Juan Núñez, abbot of San Millán de Lara, a dignitary of the cathedral of Burgos and relative of the Cardinal". The work was approved, though it suffered severe delays before it was completely finished in 1572, the date which can be read on one of the supporting arches of the crossing. This tends to become an autonomous space, whose size and elevation are achieved to the detriment of the high chapel, the transept arms and even the naves of the church, which are like appendages of the large nucleus of the chapel-crossing. Its width is the same as the sum of the nave and aisles. A square floor plan and an octagon in the dome beneath the star-shaped vault give shape to this centripetal space in which the transitional elements between the square and the octagon be-

come artistic motifs of the first magnitude, decorated with the traditional scallop shells. Beneath them we encounter the Premonstratensian saints as a concession to the order now partly engulfed by the personality of the last perpetual abbot of La Vid.

The Zúnigas' patronage made itself felt for a time, as the excellent high altarpiece was paid for by Juan de Zúñiga, Count of Miranda and Viceroy of Naples, who ordered it from the Italian painters resident in Naples Fabricio de Santa Fe, Domingo Nizenio, Wensel Cobergher, Juan Cavagna and Jerónimo Napolitano. The canvases painted between 1591 and 1592 illustrate the childhood of Jesus and surround the Gothic carving of the titular of the abbey, Our Lady of la Vid, which can be dated to the year 1300.

The rest of the church belongs to the eighteenth century in spite of the fact that its pillars and vaults are Gothic. This is confirmed by the date of 1734 which figures on one of the arches of the central nave, which forms part of the last building campaign at the monastery. The church was definitively completed coinciding with its consecration, which is described in the inscription on the Gospel side of the chevet, which says, "The extremely illustrious Sr. José Esteban de Noriega, Bishop of Solsona, son of this house, consecrated this church on 18 May, 1738".

The raised choir at the western end, spanning the nave and aisles of the church, with excellent eighteenth-century seating in walnut, provided for the divine office of the community of la Vid.

The watchful bell gable over the door of the church is one of the most beautiful ever built, having been conceived not just as a support for the bells but as a resonant highlight which prolongs and monumentalises the doorway. From here it is worth reading the lines of Gonzalo de Berceo, not just to relive the visit of Saint Dominic to this Premonstratensian monastery, but as a contemporary testimony to the importance of La Vid in the first half of the thirteenth century:

De Sancto Domingo vos quiero contar
Que fiz miraglos por tierra, e por mar.
Nacio en Calaroga, que es muy grand logar
Que en aquella Alfoz diz no tiene par.
Su padre fue feliz de los Gudman
Su Madre fue Joana, que con grande afan
Le pario, en el dia del Señor san Juan.
Soño doña Joana, que tenia un can,
Et un cirio ardiente que dava flamados,
Que por todo el mundo eran resplanados;
Porque fue flagelo de Apostatados.
De catorce años se fue a un Padre Abad,
Porque le criase con gran caridat,
que fue en el convento de gran santidat,
que se diz e la Vid, cerca do fue nat.

THE FRANCISCANS

The Friars Minor of Saint Francis.

The apparition of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century was an extreme novelty in the regular arm of the Church, as the traditional monk, enclosed in a monastery away from the world and devoted to the liturgical offices and to contemplation, now gave way to the friar living in the region of the city, devoted to prayer, for sure, but in direct contact with the faithful through an endless task of preaching which required intellectual preparation, a rich inner life and a very special gift for words.

These and many others were the virtues of Saint Francis, who without intending to found a new order, eventually gave his name to one of the most influential orders of the whole of the Middle Ages. His history and legend make him one of the most characteristic medieval figures in European culture. His writings and miracles were so famous that even before being canonised in 1228, two years after his death, his image was already reflected in painting in the frescoes of the chapel of Saint Gregory in the Benedictine monastery of Sacro Speco in Subiaco, and not long afterwards, in 1235, the painter Berlinghieri left us the famous panel with his "portrait" and six episodes from his life, now kept in the church of Saint Francis in Pescia.

Add to this the ample iconography generated by the *Life* of the saint written by Saint Bonaventure, the order's "second founder", which in the fourteenth century inspired Giotto and other artists who worked on the frescoes of the basilica of Assisi, or the words Dante devotes to him at that time in *The Divine Comedy*, and we get a rough idea of what this man represented in the collective consciousness and of his influence not only in Italy but also in all of Europe and, after 1492, in America, where the Franciscan convent was to take on very special characteristics which are not the subject of these pages, but which are interesting in that they follow a model which is stricter than the Old World model.

There is no room here to even sketch the rich personality of Saint Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), but just to remember that he preached and made a reality of poverty, humility and service to others, living off alms, owning nothing himself. This is the reason for the name of mendicant given to the order in reference to the begging on which they depend for their survival, quite the contrary to what happened with the monastic orders which had extensive properties and received healthy incomes. Francis of Assisi was simply poor by conviction, having abandoned his wealthy family position so as to do nothing but live according to the Gospel, especially the passage in Saint Matthew which inspired his Rule: "And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat. And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence. And when ye come into an house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you" (Mat, 10, 7-13).

In fact, the so-called First Rule or Life, drawn up by the *Poverello* of Assisi, the "little poor man", feeds on this series of evangelical exhortations. Its twenty-three chapters, which say nothing of architecture, contain the spirit of the order, the same as other monastic rules, and not the regulation of the uses and customs of community life, which at all events would be the object of subsequent development through the decisions of the General Chapter. Of that First Rule, approved by Innocent III in 1209 and revised in the definitive *Regula bullata* confirmed in 1223 by Honorius III, which very simply describes poverty and service to others, there are certain aspects which do not initially suggest a conventual architectural organisation as solid as that of the so-called major orders. Saint Francis's was an Order of Friars Minor (*Ordo Fratrum Minorum*), where "none shall be called prior" (chap. 6), because all are brothers and equals. This equality, or rather fraternity, of the Franciscans, as opposed to the separation existing in monasteries between fathers and lay brothers, was to simplify the future convent, as there would be no separation in the church, chapter, dining-room, refectory, etc. calling for a duplication of the monastery buildings according to the rank of its inmates.

Amongst the Franciscans, as the rule itself tells us, there was a difference between the clergy and the lay brothers (chap. 3), but this distinction in formation or mission did not materialise in a physical separation in the convent, as they were all friars and all dressed in the same habit, made up of a "Tunic with a hood and another without hood, if it were necessary, and a cord (as a belt) and underhabit. And all the friars shall dress in coarse clothes, and may patch them with sacking..." (chap. 2). Occasionally I tend to think that in the Franciscan habit, sublimed by the brushes of El Greco, Zurbarán and Ribera, lies the true architecture and the style of the Order of Friars Minor.

At the same time, the vocation for preaching gave the life of the Franciscan an itinerant sense,

much like the life of Saint Francis, which is contrary to the stable nature of a monastic establishment. Add to this the fact that they did not own and could not receive money "because we must not give more account and reputation to money than to stones" (chap. 8), living off alms (chap. 9), it is very difficult to conceive a Franciscan convent from the rule. The rule refuses to fix their activity spatially and only in chapter 18 does it say, "Each Minister (Provincial) may meet every year with his friars in the place where he pleases, for the festivity of Saint Michael the Archangel, to deal with the things they fulfil in the service of God. And all the Ministers from overseas and ultramontane regions, once every three years, and the other Ministers once a year shall come to the Pentecost Chapter at Santa Maria della Porziuncola, unless the Minister and servant of all the fraternity (General) orders otherwise".

This declaration suggests a territorial organisation, which in the course of time was to be composed of Provinces, Custodes and Convents, as well as the existence of a mother house, the Porziuncola, a chapel inseparably tied to the life of the saint, who strongly urged his brothers never to abandon it. Without being in any way a model for the future architecture of the Franciscans, it says a lot about the character and scale of the constructions which were to serve as a conventual setting for the friars. In fact, the Porziuncola, preserved today as an architectural relic beneath the dome of the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, near Assisi, where the saint's cell is also said to be, is a modest construction which must have been surrounded by the fragile cells the brothers occupied. On this point one should read the writings of the disciples of Saint Francis, who gathered very interesting accounts of those years, such as *The Mirror of Perfection* and the *Legend of the Three Companions*, in which it is generally accepted that Brother Leo, an inseparable companion and a witness to many episodes in the life of the saint, had a hand. In *The Mirror of Perfection* it is said that the friars of the Porziuncola "only had a very small cell covered with straw, whose walls were of straw covered with mud", but that on more than one occasion the friars suggested making a solider construction, either for the oratory in which to say the offices, or else for the convent in general.

These moves were always opposed by Saint Francis, who reacted with utterances such as, "Brother, this convent must be an example and a model for all those of the religion (Order), therefore I prefer the friars to suffer here hardship and discomfort for the sake of God, and the friars that come here to return to their constructed convents with a good example of poverty, rather than find comforts and gifts and take this as an example to construct buildings in other places, saying that in Santa Maria della Porziuncola, which is the first convent of the Order, are raised large and spacious houses; therefore, so may we build, in the places where we fix our dwelling, buildings similar to those".

One of the chapters of the *Mirror* is devoted to "the opposition to the Blessed Francis by some friars, especially prelates and men of science, in the matter of the way of building convents", as they opposed the way of life which required a firmer physical constitution and very especially before the increase in new adepts. This question must have worried the saint until the end of his life, as in his will he wrote, "The friars must beware not to receive in any way churches, houses and other buildings built for them, unless they are in keeping with saintly poverty, dwelling there like pilgrims and passers-by".

Undoubtedly there was pressure within the order joined to the inevitable necessity of seriously building solid, well structured and functional conventual organisations. This came about during the term of office of Saint Bonaventure, designated General of the Franciscan Order in 1256. Four years later the General Chapter met in Narbonne, where once again an appeal was made for poverty, including certain details concerning the architecture of the Franciscans: "As the select and the superfluous are directly opposed to poverty, we order that delicacy in the buildings be rigidly avoided in paintings, carvings, windows, columns and other things, or the excess of length, width and height according to the conditions of the place. But those who dare transgress this constitution, shall be severely punished, and the principals irrevocably expelled from their places".

In supervising the compliance of these statutes of the General Chapter, the inspectors of the order had full power to take action to forbid their infringement, as "in no way may churches be vaulted, except the presbytery. Also, the church belfry will in no place be built as a tower; similarly, there will never be storied or painted glass, except the main window, behind the high altar there may be images of the Crucifixion, of the Holy Virgin, of Saint John, of Saint Francis and Saint Anthony; and if others were painted they shall be removed by the inspectors".

Without going any further, even the church of San Francesco in Assisi, where the saint is buried, begun in 1228, consecrated in 1253 and enriched in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with an unrivalled collection of frescoes, itself contravenes the spirit not only of the *Poverello* but also of the agreements reached in Narbonne and endorsed by later General Chapters. History is witness to the growing wealth of the convents of Franciscans and Poor Clares, their female branch, with examples such as that of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, in Barcelona, and San Juan de los Reyes, in Toledo, which are a far cry from the original austerity of the Franciscan Rule and Life. The church with the single nave, to improve the acoustics for the preaching, the cloister with the chapter house, refectory, library, infirmary and passage to the individual cells make up the principal nucleus of the Franciscan convent, to which should be added several other buildings not included in the rule, arranged around a series of courtyards without any pre-established order. Nevertheless, the series of variations introduced into the convents of the Friars Minor by the place or the historical circumstances make them a model of adaptation to their surroundings, very different from the rigid control the major orders exercised over their monasteries.

Franciscan presence in Spain goes right back to the thirteenth century, and in 1217 it was one of the five provinces the order had outside Italy. Here, as in the rest of Europe, it had great influence amongst the common people, but above all amongst the nobility, and its churches became a favourite choice of burial place. The number of foundations grew so much that in 1232 the province of Spain was divided into three —Santiago (with part of Portugal), Aragon and Castile—, with a total of 123 convents, which did not stop growing in subsequent years. During the fifteenth century there was a split between Observants and Conventuals, which Cisneros managed to redirect towards Observantism, while the Conventuals disappeared in Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century. By then, the two branches of the Order of Saint Francis consisted of 50,000 friars distributed all over the world.

San Juan de los Reyes. Toledo.

In the rich panorama of religious architecture in Toledo, the Franciscan convent of San Juan de los Reyes, unquestionably the most notable building after the cathedral, stands out for its size and character. Its origin is traditionally linked to the battle of Toro (1476), when the Castilian troops defeated the Portuguese who supported Joan (La Beltraneja) in her aspirations to the crown of Castile, which she disputed with Queen Isabella. In thanksgiving, says Fray Pedro de Salazar in his *Crónica e Historia de la fundación y progreso de la Provincia de Castilla de la Orden del bienaventurado padre San Francisco* (1612), the queen decided "to found a very sumptuous church and dedicate it to Saint John the Evangelist, of whom the Queen was a great devotee, and also because the Prince had been born, whom they called Don Juan. He was

born in the year 1478, and they say that the Queen tried to have a collegiate church of Canons built in San Juan de los Reyes, for her burial, and that of King Fernando her husband, and that this had no effect, because in this town there was a major church which countermanded this". In a word, the archbishop and the cathedral chapter opposed it openly for fear this royal foundation in some way lessened their privileges.

Although the collegiate church was not to be, the new foundation could be handed over to an order like that of the Franciscans, as the Queen said with determination: "Since I have and have always had a very special devotion to the blessed Lord Saint John and to the Order of Observants of the Lord Saint Francis, I have decided to make and build a House and Monastery of this Order of Saint Francis of Observance, and in devotion to the blessed said Lord Saint John, Apostle and Evangelist, in the very noble and very loyal city of Toledo".

The Franciscans had already been established in the city since the thirteenth century, as it seems that from 1230 they had had a modest house just outside Toledo, in a place known as La Bastida, until a few years later when they built an important convent inside the city walls. In 1501, when the new house of San Juan de los Reyes was finished, Queen Isabella offered the Franciscan women's branch the friars' old house, today the nucleus of the convent of Concepción Francisca.

San Juan de los Reyes was built in the Jewish quarter, close to the former parish church of San Martín, over houses and land which had belonged to Henry IV's chief bookkeeper, Alonso Álvarez de Toledo. The building work must have started in about 1477 and ten years later the church was well advanced. The sculptors who carved the rich heraldic decoration of the interior of the transept completed the royal coats of arms shortly before 1492, as the rich fruit symbolising the end of the Reconquest and the capture of Granada is not to be seen on the point of the shield. From subsequent years we have the exceptional eye-witness account by the German traveller Hieronymus Müntzer, who while visiting Toledo in January 1495 wrote, "The King and Queen Fernando and Isabella are building this edifice in cut and squared stone, so magnificently and splendidly that it causes admiration. The church is finished, except for the chevet which is profusely decorated with the shields of the king and queen..." Farther on he refers to the cloister which "will be very beautiful" although it is not finished and says that, speaking with the architect of the work, Juan Guas, he was assured that the whole building, once finished, would cost some 200,000 ducats, a considerable sum which shows how exceptional it was.

The building was completed in 1504, some years after the death of the architect of San Juan de los Reyes, Juan Guas, in 1496. By that time the convent was well advanced, with the presence of other masters who finished the project, such as Simón de Colonia, Enrique Egas, and finally, Alonso de Covarrubias, who not only built the vault over the main staircase but the second cloister destroyed during the French occupation in 1810. This was the starting point for a nineteenth century in which the destruction by the French and an initial, partial restoration was followed by secularisation in 1835, when the conventual church became the parish church of San Martín (1840) and the cloister galleries still standing became the Provincial Museum (1846). All in all the complex was in a sorry state. Parts of it were in ruins, the convent had been plundered, one of the two cloisters had been lost and one of the galleries of the remaining one had collapsed. In a word, an unhappy predicament for one of the most important Spanish artistic complexes of the time of the Catholic Monarchs in what has come to be called the Isabelline style.

It took the sensitivity of a poet such as Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer to break with the oblivion of people and institutions and draw attention to San Juan de los Reyes with the publication of an extraordinarily clear-sighted and sincerely romantic work, the *Historia de los templos de España* (1875): "Silent ruins of a prodigy of art, imposing remains of a forgotten generation, sombre walls of the sanctuary of the Lord, I am amongst you. Hail, companions of meditation and melancholy, hail. I am the poet. The poet, who brings not even the parchments of the historian, nor the compass of the architect, who knows not the technicalities of one, and can only just, thanks to the traditions preserved in his songs, follow the other along the tangled paths of his overwhelming knowledge. The poet, who comes not to reduce your majesty to lines nor your memory to numbers, but to ask of you a flash of inspiration and an instant of calm. Bathe my forehead in your pleasant shade, lend me a branch of your willows on which to hang my lute, may the melancholy that dreams within your breast surround me with its transparent wings, and I when I leave shall repay this hospitality with a tear and a song." This lyricism is followed by a detailed description of the convent which is an indispensable source of reference for knowing its state at that time.

The restoration of San Juan de los Reyes would have to wait until the time of Alfonso XII, when the architect Arturo Mélida was entrusted with a project (1881) to restore the church and cloister to their original state. This Mélida did in his twofold capacity as architect and sculptor. Invested with the authority of a new Juan Guas, he planned, designed, carved and invented a great number of solutions and details not previously known, but they were incorporated in the original work so naturally that only an expert could discern them. During those years it was declared a National Monument (1883) and the restoration work extended until 1926, though a third large-scale intervention was necessary after the Civil War, between 1940 and 1950. Four years later, the Franciscan Order once more occupied the house which had given famous names to the history of Spain, some as well known as that of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, who professed at San Juan de los Reyes and who came to be confessor to Queen Isabella, Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal and Regent of Spain.

The general outline was conceived by Juan Guas, no doubt with the collaboration of the sculptor Egas Cueman, as both appear in the documentation as major masters (1479), there having been some differences of opinion with the queen, who must have disliked the simplicity of the first project. The architect, probably wanting to avoid grandiloquent, gaudy architecture, had in mind the sober character befitting a convent of the order of the *poverello* of Assisi. But the queen, who had conceived the church of San Juan as a royal pantheon until the conquest of Granada made her change her mind and build the Capilla Real there for her burial, rebuked Juan Guas, saying, "Is this trifle what you have done for me here?". Leaving aside this anecdote, which expresses the royal interest in the new foundation, it is a fact that there were many changes between the original idea and the constructed work. Suffice it to compare the present church with the extraordinary and detailed drawing on parchment from San Juan de los Reyes now kept in the Museo del Prado, where the interior of the church appears represented in perspective with an arrangement different from today's.

The church is a typical conventual church, with a single nave, chapels between the buttresses, a short transept aligned with them and a raised choir at the western end. On the south side, built on to the church, is the cloister, with two storeys. Opening off the ground floor level were once the library (on the west side), chapter house (on the south side) and sacristy (on the west side and the present entrance for the public from the exterior). Between the sacristy and the church is a monumental staircase leading to the upper corridors of the cloister. Next to this cloister was a second, built in the sixteenth century by Covarrubias, and around it were situated the refectory, kitchen, prior's cell, and secondary buildings. On the site of this former cloister, Arturo Mélida raised the interesting Escuela de Industrias Artísticas (1882), spiritually and physically related through the architect to San Juan de los Reyes.

The exterior aspect of the church is one of extreme simplicity, relieved only by the restored pinnacles, the new knights restored by Mélida at the chevet, and by the fetters of the Christian captives liberated in the Granada campaign, also hung as ex votos on the front of the church. Beside the simplicity of the volume of its architecture, the interior offers an unrestrained decorative wealth, especially the chevet, which is also the transept crossing, high chapel and royal tomb, all beneath the spectacular presence of the cupola. Space and the value of surfaces are admirably combined here, bathed in a light which today is more aggressive, having lost the stained glass that Ponz was able to see in 1783 and which, in his judgement, was "painted as well as the best in the cathedral".

The general vaulting of the church shows different combinations on the basis of straight ribs, very characteristic of Juan Guas, making the stellate solution of the cupola even more impressive. On the walls of the transept Guas conceived a brilliant royal retinue, to the extent that the unwitting visitor forgets that this is a conventual church and not a royal chapel. On either side, like an image reflected in a mirror, is repeated the same composition of a frieze on which the coat of arms of the Catholic Monarchs under the eagle of Saint John is reproduced five times though without monotony. Here, the blazons of Castile and Leon appear quartered with those of Aragon and Sicily. At the feet, lions, the yoke and the arrows, along with figures of saints in the lanes separating the shields, forming one of the noblest images in Isabelline architecture. Guas resolved this peculiar art of the church by recreating in a monumental tone the famous emblematic combination conceived by the humanist Antonio de Nebrija, with constant allusions to the yoke and arrows whose initials are repeated separately, concealing the names of Isabella and Ferdinand. The lost portraits of the monarchs, on either side of the early altarpiece, left no doubt as to the ultimate destiny of the church as a royal pantheon, situating a free-standing tomb beneath the cupola. It is tempting to mentally transfer the tomb carved for the Catholic Monarchs by Fancelli in the Capilla Real in Granada to this convent in Toledo. It would fit in perfectly. A surprising note that adds to the interest of the church is the presence of raised galleries, no doubt conceived as choirs or places for the minstrels, whose present silence forces us to consider the musical side of a liturgy which would also have been exceptional. To this harmonic reality of the church —invisible, but as real as the hardness of its seating— we have to add the importance of the deep raised choir at the western end and the organ gallery, which would have given the required solemnity to the liturgy in a church with ideal acoustics.

The church is connected to the cloister through a door in the transept. Its four galleries have stone vaults whose rigid ribs avoid crossing in the centre, in contrast to the pleasantly sinuous Flamboyant tracery on the arches, in which Simón de Colonia probably collaborated. Finely worked carving decorates the arches, pedestals, imposts and mouldings, on which dwell a fauna and a flora which the sculptors treated with demanding realism but at the same time infected with the Franciscan spirit of love towards nature.

The arches opened on the second storey of the cloister are a very different shape to those on the lower storey, the mixtilinear intrados and the Renaissance character of their balustrades suggesting there was a change in the master of the works. The upper storey also has a wooden framework, with Mudejar roots but done by Mélida in the nineteenth century with great skill. To the same architect is owed the crenellation of the cloister and its gargoyles, some of which, as well as being signed, leave no doubt as to their date: 1888. This important work, which saved the cloister from ruin, fits well with those words by Bécquer, who said of San Juan de los Reyes that "in its various capacities as a page from history, a monumental building and a source of poetry, it enjoys the threefold privilege of speaking to the intelligence that reasons, the art that studies, the spirit that creates.".

Santa Maria de Pedralbes. Barcelona.

When Münzer visited Barcelona in 1494, he wrote that it had "the city within the precinct, and outside it, at a journey of two leagues, more than thirty monasteries of friars and nuns", one of the most remarkable being that of the Poor Clares. Today this convent is still alive, though some elements have been lost or segregated which used to stand within the walled precinct with its gates defended by towers. Here, as well as the convent itself, with its several gardens, were the majordomo's house and, what is most interesting, the so-called "Conventet", or little convent, of Franciscan friars and the houses and gardens of the chaplains who belonged to the secular clergy. Between them they catered for the needs of worship and spiritual assistance of the nuns, forming an interesting conventual group with the church of the Poor Clares, around the present open space before the church which was once intramural farmland. The Friars' "Conventet" had a complete organisation around the attractive Gothic cloister, with its own chapel, which in 1920 was converted as a private home by the architect Enric Sagnier. Inside one can still appreciate the far from accessory interest of this little fourteenth-century Franciscan convent, as the size and the elegant sobriety of its cloister are a prelude on an equal with the magnificent architecture of the monumental convent of the Poor Clares.

This, today, is part of the urban network of the city that has grown out from the nucleus of medieval Barcelona to reach the convent of Pedralbes, which nevertheless still lies on the outskirts. We owe its foundation to King James II and his wife Elisenda de Montcada. The latter, after her husband's death, furbished rooms in the convent and lived and died in the company of the nuns of Pedralbes, to whom she left all her possessions when she died in 1364. The most beautiful and poetic testimony of Elisenda's preference and patronage of the convent is her unusual tomb, which, like a medal, has two sides. In this way, while the funerary carving which appears on one side of the presbytery of the church shows the queen dressed as befits her dignity, on the other side of the same tomb facing the cloister the recumbent figure is dressed in the modest habit of the Poor Clares. What better definition of the two periods of a life, queen and nun?

Ever since the first stone was laid in the church on 26 March 1327, the convent has never stopped growing, both in its architectural dimension and in the number of nuns and servants. Whereas in the spring of 1237, on the occasion of the consecration of the church, a small group of churchwomen came here made up of twelve nuns, two lay sisters and fifteen novices from the Barcelona Poor Clares convent of Sant Antoni and Sant Damià, the Ordinances of 1334 limited the number of nuns to sixty and fixed that of friars and chaplains to four and ten, respectively. This number was adjusted up or down, according to the circumstances, but it gives an idea of the quantitative importance of this religious group, to which must be added the no less notable number of servants of the convent in their different trades, without forgetting that Pedralbes also had about forty slaves in its service.

The main nucleus of this foundation of Franciscan nuns is formed by the church and the buildings communicating directly with the cloister, bearing in mind that the long history accumulated on its ancient walls has involved various additions, transformations, mutilations and restorations at different times. It is certainly a surprise to see the relationship between the proportions of the church and the imposing size of its cloister, as well as the simplicity of the composition of the parts of the cloister, where three large galleries —that is, dormitory, refectory and infirmary—, along with the church, make up the perimeter of the cloister. Here, in my opinion, there is a close parallel with the arrangement of the former convent of Santa Clara, built in the thirteenth century and dedicat-

ed to Saints Anthony and Damian. This is where the first nuns and novices are said to have come from. After the sixteenth century it passed into the hands of the Benedictine Order and it was demolished in the eighteenth century during the construction of the Citadel.

The arrangement of the church, also single-naved with a raised choir at the western end, using the space beneath the choir as a visitors' room, follows the same scheme we find at Pedralbes, revealing its personality as a church standing out against the varied range of monastic and conventual churches. The style and the construction of the church are identified with fifteenth-century Catalan Gothic, with its spacious single nave and its chapels between the buttresses, the amplitude of the heptagonal chevet matching the width of the nave. This gives it an enviable transparency, in the midst of which is situated the monks' and beneficiaries' choir, like a *scola cantorum*, with twenty-six wooden seats, all much reformed and restored but with good remains of the old work dating from about 1400. Until it was reformed in the twentieth century, the raised nuns' choir at the western end over a depressed vault had a high wall which, without reaching the vault of the church, shut off this enclosed area more decisively. A gap in the middle allowed a view from the choir of the ceremonial in the presbytery. The church's natural lighting comes through large windows and oculi open all along the top, with fine stone tracery and a beautiful collection of stained glass windows, of which the oldest date from the fourteenth century and the most recent from the nineteenth, which give a soft, balanced light. The stained glass window in the centre of the chevet, one of the examples from the fourteenth century, represents the Saviour in the centre and larger than the Virgin, between Saint Francis and Saint John the Baptist, in the lower register. At the bottom the coats of arms of Aragon and Montcada are repeated continuously along the interior of the church façade and the whole of the cloister.

The quatripartite vaults have interesting keystones with reliefs of the following subjects, starting from the chevet: Coronation of the Virgin, Ascension, Pentecost, female saints, Epiphany, Birth of Jesus, Annunciation and Christ in Majesty. This series of major keystones is continued on the lesser keystones of the lateral chapels, where some have identified the work of Reinard des Fonoll, James II's architect and sculptor. Some authors attribute this master with considerable participation in the church of Pedralbes, on the basis of its affinities with other works by Fonoll, as can be deduced from the very doorway of the church of Pedralbes, which sweetens the exterior, with its imposing horizontal bulk countered by the prismatic slenderness of the tower, in a truly felicitous union.

The cloister of Santa Maria de Pedralbes is one of the most beautiful to be found in Gothic architecture. Its dimensions are unusual, some forty metres along each side, and its three storeys are exceptional. On two storeys there are extremely elegant series of uninterrupted arches, dating from the fourteenth century, while the third, with its flat arches, added at the beginning of the following century, is more domestic in scale and character.

The use of wood in the roofing means that the arcades can be extremely light, the arches resting on extremely thin nummulitic colonettes carved in the workshops of Girona. Opening off its galleries on the ground floor is the chapter house, today converted as an interesting museum of the history and art of the convent, with many noteworthy items of all types and conditions. Of particular interest here are the attractive lines of the architecture, the work of Guillermo Abiell and Antonio Nató between 1418 and 1420. Its large ribbed and partitioned vault is closed by an impressive keystone representing the scene of Pentecost, a relief painted by Pedro Sa Closa in 1420. The rest of the east gallery is occupied by the infirmary, and the south-east side corresponds to the refectory, which also dates from the fourteenth century but was renovated in the nineteenth. Its large nave with pointed barrel vault and that of the long dormitory, on the south-west gallery, with a wooden ceiling on diaphragm arches, several times modified, rebuilt and turned into a series of cells, speaks for the changing customs the convent has seen in its long history, each time calling for works of constant adaptation.

There is nevertheless a spirit that remains, perhaps in the less monumental aspects, such as the series of lesser chapels and cells distributed all over the cloister, many of them for brief retreats by the monks, such as that of Abbess Sa-Portella, known as the chapel of San Miguel (1346), with the exceptional series of mural paintings by Ferrer Bassa, the imitator of the fourteenth-century style of Giotto, the painter of the *Poverello* of Assisi.

Everywhere one goes one hears the arcane voices of former abbesses of Pedralbes. Here in the cloister garden, works like the fountain for washing one's hands outside the refectory or the curb of the Renaissance well conjure up the names of the abbesses Teresa Enríquez (1495-1506) and Teresa de Cardona (1521-1562), respectively. In the galleries of the cloister are gathered tombs, funerary statues or simply magnificent burial stones with coats of arms of the nobility, keeping alive the illustrious family names (Sa-Portella, Caixans, March, Centelles, etc.) of those who once governed this convent with loving care.

It is tempting to make this place the setting for a passage from *Blanquerna*, by Ramon Llull (1235-1315), who was so close to the Franciscans, about the private life of a convent which, close in time, tells of the care Abbess Nathan takes of her nuns, always striving to improve their life together:

"L'abadesa anava tot jorn per lo monestir, perençerchar si atrobaria ullan cosa qui fos ordenament d'oyment. Un jorn l'abadesa entrà en l'ort, e viu estar dues dones qui filaven a I[a] part, e viu-ne estar una per cabal. Puxes entrà en lo dormitor, e del dormitor entrà en les altres cases on les dones solen filar, e viu que no filaven ensemps en un loch. L'abadesa l'endemà manà capítol, e féu stabliment que totes les dones filasen en un loch, e que alcuna dona legís alcun libre qui fos en romanç, per ço que les dones lo poguesen entendre. Aquell llibre fos de la passió de Jesu Crist, e de la vida e del martire dels sants e de les santes, e de la vida dels sants pares qui són passats; en aquell llibre fossen les miracles de madona santa Maria, e de les vèrgens e màrtirs, e dels altres sants: e aquell libre legissen a les festes e als altres dies, segons que cascuna dona venria per tanda e per orde. Aquel libre fo encerchat, e aquell ordenament fo fet en aquell monestir e en molts d'altres, qui d'aquell ne prengueren exempli".

THE DOMINICANS

Saint Dominic and the *Ordo Paedicatorum*.

When Dante, in *The Divine Comedy*, has the founding fathers of the most important mendicant orders, Saint Dominic and Saint Francis of Assisi, enter Paradise, he says something which is all too true: "I shall speak of one of them, as one is speaking of both by praising only one, whichever it is, because their works were directed at the same end" (Paradise, XI, 40-43). In fact the poet goes on to speak of both of them, but the idea that the two of them are identified with a single task of preaching, at a moment when the church was in need of these voices, is absolutely true. They lived at the same time, around the fourth Lateran Council (1215) and discussed their project with the same popes, Innocent III and Honorius III. Like the Franciscans and in a role complementing theirs, they approached the cities and lived discreetly in suburban areas where they raised their convents, which at first were very modest but by the end of the Middle Ages had become spectacular.

The founder of the order was the Spaniard Domingo de Guzmán (1170-1221), born in the town of Caleruega, in Burgos, where there is still a community of Dominican nuns whose active presence brings life and meaning to Alfonso X the Wise's ancient conventual foundation. After an initial preparation at the Premonstratenisan monastery of La Vid,

which Berceo versified, Saint Dominic entered the cathedral of Burgo de Osma (Soria), where he formed part of the chapter as a canon regular of Saint Augustine. His friendship with the prior of the chapter and later prelate of the diocese, Diego de Acebes, was to be a decisive factor in his life. With him he travelled to Rome, visited the Cistercian abbey of Cîteaux and with him he stayed in the south of France, preaching against the Albigensian heresy in Montpellier, Carcassone and Toulouse. In 1206, as Jordan of Saxony, Saint Dominic's immediate successor, tells us in his *De principiis Ordinis Sancti Dominici*, Diego de Acebes and Dominic, "with the object of receiving some noble women, whose fathers, having come down in the world, had delivered them to the heretics to be educated and maintained, founded a monastery, situated between Fanjeaux and Montreal, in the place called Prouille". But following the death of the bishop the following year, the foundation and the plans for the new order were left entirely in the hands of Dominic, who had seen in Toulouse the harsh events of the war and the heresy in an explosive mixture. Following the capture of the city by the crusaders in 1213, Dominic formed a Congregation of preachers in the castle of Casseneuil, with the support of Foulques, bishop of the city, who assigned him an allowance.

Two years later the fourth Lateran Council was held, which Foulques attended accompanied by Dominic, and from its decrees the Spanish saint drew the basic ideas still to be established for the new order, that is the urgency of preaching to combat heresy, the need for the administration of penitence, and a labour of education to improve the preparation of the clergy in sacred matters. These were new aspects which were not dealt with by the other mendicant orders such as the Franciscans, Carmelites or Augustian Hermits. On their return to Toulouse, Saint Dominic and his companions, at that time some fifteen men, decided to fit the life of the community to the rule of Saint Augustine, with some additions in which the influence of the Premonstratensians could be seen. As García-Villoslada tells us, they were subject to the *vita canonica*, that is the recitation of the divine office (the liturgy of the hours), to which were added study and preaching. Bishop Foulques gave them the church of Saint Roman in Toulouse, where they organised the first convent of the new order which Honorius III endorsed in a bull of 1216. That same year the first General Chapter of the Order of Preachers (*Ordo Praedicatorum*) met in Bologna, followed by other General but also Provincial Chapters, as during the thirteenth century the provinces of Spain, Provence, France, Lombardy and Rome were created, followed by those of Hungary, Germany and England. The Order of Saint Dominic grew so fast that, like the Franciscans, it was later to reach unsuspected horizons on the other side of the Atlantic, in the New World. These chapters developed the administrative organisation and the regimen governing the order, which Raymond of Peñafort, as Saint Dominic's second successor, codified in his *Constitutions*, always putting special emphasis on preaching and study as priority objectives, urging the increase of libraries and forbidding the sale of books. So it is not surprising that the first university chairs in Paris and Salamanca were occupied by the friars preachers, who saw in Saint Thomas of Aquinas one of the most representative figures in the intellectual task characterising the Dominicans.

In Spain the order spread early and quickly, so that the Provincial Chapter held in Toledo in 1250 was made up of twenty Spanish and Portuguese convents, located in the most important cities of the Christian kingdoms, from Barcelona to Lisbon and from Santiago de Compostela to Valencia. However, these were just the first of a growing series of foundations, thanks to the social support the Order of Preachers received in the Peninsula, especially from the ruling monarchs, who very often found their confessors and counsellors amongst these educated friars, as we shall see later. In this aspect, a good example is the donation John I of Portugal made in 1388 to the Order of Saint Dominic of the monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória in Batalha, built to commemorate the Castilian defeat at Aljubarrota (1385). Behind this donation, which made Batalha the dynastic pantheon for the new dynasty of Avis in Portugal, were the Dominicans Fray Juan Lampreia, the king's confessor, and the jurisconsult Juan das Regras, who vigorously defended the right of the former Maestre de Avis to wear the crown of Portugal as John I, as approved by the Cortes of Coimbra. The Portuguese monastery, whose fifteenth-century Manueline additions never completed the famous *capelas imperfeitas*, stands out in the context of European monastic architecture for the beauty and grandeur of its general conception, quite exceeding the more modest model of the mendicant churches.

In fact, in these, only the nucleus follows a traditional Benedictine pattern, though without all those elements which, as in the Franciscan case, had no place amongst the mendicants. Their churches have features of the so-called predicant churches: a single nave, with a division between the friars' choir and the church of the faithful, and with the pulpit carefully placed to ensure the voice carries, and sometimes, for the administration of the sacrament of penitence, a series of confessionals hollowed out in the wall between the church and the cloister, so as to facilitate access for the fathers without breaking their enclosure, as happens in San Esteban in Salamanca.

The inevitable processional cloister has an upper cloister providing access to the cells, library and choir, leaving the lower part mainly for the chapter house and the refectory. Other courtyards contain the infirmary and various buildings, as we shall see. With regard to the architecture, the constitutions or statutes tell us practically nothing, merely repeating the brief observations made on this point at the General Chapter of Paris in 1228, when it was recommended that "*Mediocros domod et humiles habeant fratres nostri...*", that is "may our brothers have small and simple houses, and may the walls of the houses, without solarium, not pass the measure of twelve feet in height, and with solarium, twenty, the church thirty and may the chancels not be built with stone (vaulted), except over the chevet and the sacristy. Should anyone act to the contrary, he shall receive a punishment as severe as his fault. May each convent elect three of the most distinguished brothers, without whose opinion the buildings may not be built". Although the text is short, it no doubt forms part of a series of more extensive precepts, as there is an indication as to the height of the buildings which encompasses proportion. These heights are of the utmost interest, as they do indeed suggest modest, rather than monumental constructions, though with a certain distinction, as the church, for example, is almost ten metres in height, standing out above the other buildings, of which the smallest reach a height of four metres. The reference to a small works commission in each convent is also worth noting; this must have been a very useful instrument which in this and other orders helped the rapid spread of each one's models. In other aspects, such as the fact that only the chevet should be vaulted and the rest of the church roofed in wood, it coincides with the directives of the Franciscan churches.

Just as Saint Francis is buried in Assisi, Saint Dominic's remains rest in Bologna, in the church of the convent that bears his name, a thirteenth-century work, though rebuilt in the eighteenth century. This church breaks the rules on height and simplicity in buildings, as well as the agreements of the Anagni Chapter (1270), which ordered "that nothing should be done in our convents that could draw too much attention to the paintings, sculptures...". Thanks to the fact that none of this was actually put into effect, today we can contemplate the extraordinary *arca di San Domenico*, with the mortal remains of Domingo de Guzmán, the combined work of the finest Italian sculptors, from Nicola Pisano to Michelangelo, or admire the paintings of the Dominican Fra Angelico in his convent of San Marcos in Florence.

SANTO DOMINGO. VALENCIA.

The foundation of the convent of Santo Domingo, today the home of the military headquarters in Valencia, is linked to the conquest of the city by James I (1238) and to his confessor, the Dominican Fray Miguel de Fabra, who accompanied the monarch on his campaigns in Mallorca and Valencia. The king, a few months after taking the city, gave the Dominicans a piece of land between the walls and the river Túria "so that they may have and build a church and buildings, and the other uses of this order". Here a modest convent was raised, whose first stone was laid in 1239 in the presence of James I. In later years it took on a monumental tone more in keeping with the part played by the convent in the life of the city, which grew with the presence in its cloister of such eminent men as Saint Vincent Ferrer and Saint Louis Bertrand.

The first qualitative change was the construction in about 1250 of a new and larger church, replaced by another in 1382, finally demolished in the nineteenth century. Of these there is nothing we can say. In about 1300, the cloister and chapter house were built, very probably as part of a single plan along with the church. Here there is no doubt that a very experienced and highly refined master mason intervened, to judge by the east side of the cloister — the only one completed with its delicate traceries and mullions—, and by the chapter house, located as usual after the sacristy. This is one of the most beautiful chapter houses of Gothic architecture, and its image is a forerunner of the bold solutions of the *hallenkirche* (hall churches) and of the Valencian exchanges of the fifteenth century. The four graceful central supports create a diaphanous space of great transparency, covered with nine quadripartite vaults whose stone ribs support the masonry which today has been left unrendered. The unknown designer of the chapter house achieved an effect of exquisite, weightless elegance, by placing half colonettes on the walls, with the same moulding as the four free-standing supports, creating an impression of suspension which is original and very beautiful. The whole space gets light from the eastern wall and from the cloister through the delicate traceries, also fourteenth century. The entrance doorway is very striking; as it could not have mullions to support the open-work traceries it uses a bold and interesting hanging solution which shows the high standard of knowledge of the stonemasons working there.

The chapter house was financed by Pedro Boil, James II's mayor of the palace, which explains why his great-grandson and great-great-grandson, Ramón Boil II, Lord of Bétera, and Ramón Boil III, Vice-roy of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous, were buried in this hall in an interesting fifteenth-century wall tomb in which funerary corteges of obvious Burgundian descent appear above the recumbent figures.

The presence of these noble families in the chapter house, also linked to the Verona and Escala families to judge by the coats of arms that figure there, are a reminder that the cloister and its adjacent chapels were considered a special burial place for a civil society, devotees of the Order of Preachers, which contributed to the work of the monastery by providing chapels for their burial such as those still to be seen here today. Especially striking is the gallery in the chapter house, where the traceries on the arches, some of which have definite Flamboyant lines, include family coats of arms which, along with those that appear in the chapels opening off the cloister, leave no doubt as to who paid for these works: Jofré, Zapata, Castellví, Esteve, Codinats, Borja, Esplugues etc. The dedications, names and patronage have changed n the course of time, just as the Gothic vaults were affected when the upper cloister was built in the seventeenth century. The chapel of Santa Cruz, founded by Nicolás Pujades, *bayle general* of Valencia under Martin the Humane, is one of the best preserved. The neighbouring chapel of San Jerónimo, also on the south side of the cloister, was also built at the end of the fourteenth century by Ramon Nebot, *jurado* of the city of Valencia in 1392, who financed four arches in this part of the cloister with his coat of arms on the keystones.

But the two most remarkable chapels of the now disarticulated convent of Santo Domingo are those of Los Reyes and of Santo Domingo. The first is so called as it was begun in 1493 by King Alfonso III of Valencia and V of Aragon, better known as the Magnanimous, and completed by John II the Great, in 1463. It was probably planned as a royal pantheon, hence its unusual vaulting, which is unique in Spanish architecture, as it presents a Gothic solution without ribs but with all the appearance of the schemes of the cross vault. The result is a rib vault interpreted by arrises, which calls for a profound mastery of the art of stereotomy, in which it is thought that Francisco Baldomar, Pedro Compte, Miquel Navarro or some pupil of Guillem Sagrera could have participated.

However, it was never used as a funeral chapel for these kings, who appear at the feet of Our Lady of Hope on the altarpiece of the chapel. By a privilege of the Emperor Charles V, it housed the mortal remains of the Marquis and Marquise of Cenete, Rodrigo de Mendoza y Vivar and María de Fonseca. The marble sepulchre is excellently made according to the design of the Genoese active in Spain and known as Bergamasco, and the sculptures were carved by Giovanni Orsolano and Giovanni Carlone (1563), all in excellent Italian Renaissance taste. Its free-standing position in this imposing chapel, miraculously saved after so many changes of fortune, produces unusual emotion and respect.

The present chapel of San Vicente was raised in the eighteenth century on the site of an earlier one begun in 1460, five years after the canonisation of Saint Vincent Ferrer, who was so closely linked to the history of this institution. This called for the demolition of the old refectory and the chapels in the west wing of the cloister, so as to situate it between this and the chapel of Los Reyes. That first Gothic chapel, of which some ribbed vaults still remain, underwent important work in 1640, and in 1772 and 1781 the transept with the cupola and the deep presbytery were added. Here the medieval image of the convent gives way to an excellent classicist work in the best spirit of the Real Academia de San Carlos in Valencia, as its creators, the architect Gilabert and the sculptor Puchol, belonged to this corporation. The beauty of the whole, with its unorthodox Corinthian order with Doric entablature, owes a lot to the chromatic wealth of the materials, amongst which, as a homage to the land of Valencia and its famous saint, are the finest marble and stone of the region. While the shafts of the columns came from Portaceli and from Callosa de Ensarriá, the pedestals are from Náquera. The rich polychrome paving is made with black and white stone also from Portaceli, while the presbytery balustrade is carved in stone from Buscarró. The different shades of yellow come from Liria and Torrente. Add to this the imposing sculptures by Puchol and the paintings by Vergara and we get a work of the first order within the Valencian art of the eighteenth century.

The fact that the chapel of San Vicente was built over the old refectory meant that another one had to be built to the south of the cloister. Today, this is the southernmost part of the convent, as everything that once stood beyond this point has been lost, especially the large gallery with the cells, which can still be recognised on the famous plan of Valencia by Tosca (1730). The new refectory, over which the library would go, was begun in 1560 and provides a paradoxical image in which are mixed the sombre character of pilastered architecture with an obvious Renaissance feel and the medieval solution of its ribbed vault.

Soon afterwards work began on the porch leading to the church and the chapel of Los Reyes, both of which opened on to a small Tuscan courtyard, by the Dominican lay brother Fray Pedro Gómez. This elegant composition, with its Roman Doric order, has a second wing with Mannerist accents and an air like that of El Escorial, which fits in with the visit made by Philip II n 1586 and the 1,000 ducats he left for the work. The porch, in a clear exaltation of the Order of Preachers, includes, as well as its coat of arms, the images of its most outstanding names: Saint Dominic, Saint Vincent Ferrer and

Saint Louis Bertrand, at the top, and Saint Thomas Aquinas, Saint Peter of Verona, Saint Raymond of Peñafort and Saint Anthony of Florence in the niches between the columns. On the pediment, a dove symbolises the Holy Spirit referred to in the verses in the gatehouse courtyard, an inducement to plenary indulgence, hailing the Virgin as follows:

Ave filia Dei Patris
Ave Mater Dei Filii
Ave Sponsa Spiritus Sancti
Ave Templum Totius Trinitatis.

SANTO TOMÁS. ÁVILA.

Franciscans and Dominicans raised their respective convents in the vicinity of Ávila, a certain distance from the city walls and also from the old extramural parishes, Franciscans to the north-east and Dominicans to the south-east. The two convents had a lot in common, not only as a result of the affinities between the two mendicant orders but also in the dates of their buildings, and it would not be surprising if the same builders had taken part. Unfortunately, this comparison goes no further, because whereas the Dominican convent of Santo Tomás remains practically complete and is still inhabited by the predicant friars, the convent of San Francisco is a ruin and practically nothing is left of it except an interesting church in a state of total destruction. There, in the middle of today's neighbourhood of Nebreda, named after the person who bought the convent following disentailment, can be seen the remains of the old thirteenth-century foundation, over which a new church was built in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The formidable building of the convent of Santo Tomás —once known as Los Arrabales—, which dates from the same period, was raised on land belonging to the Premonstratensians of Sancti Spiritus, whose order had been in the city since 1209. The main part of the convent was built in a very short time indeed, between 1482 and 1493. The speed of the work was due to the initial generosity of Hernando Núñez de Arnalte, treasurer and secretary of the Catholic Monarchs, who while ill granted legal powers to his wife, María Dávila, and to the prior of the Dominican convent of Santa Cruz in Segovia, Fray Tomás de Torquemada, to found a Dominican convent in Ávila. The treasurer's amazing fortune was distributed by these two after a curious consultation of the Catholic Monarchs, to whom the famous inquisitor general Torquemada was confessor and counsellor. Amongst the many clauses of the document containing Núñez de Arnalte's last wish and testament (1480), one says textually, "Also, we ordain and command that in the said city of Ávila there be made and constituted and built a monastery of the Lord Saint Thomas of the Order of Saint Dominic of the Observance, and that its chapel and church be built where the divine offices are held by the monks who are in the said monastery, and that firstly the house and dwelling and accommodation be built, where the said monks may stay, so that the said house and monastery are finished sooner, in which said monastery and church be placed and we ordain that the arms of the said treasurer be placed there, so that his memory, as it is said, be conserved and others may become covetous of doing other similar pious works that must be seen".

María Dávila initially gave rather more than one and a half million *maravedís* to begin the work. This sum was invested in the so-called Noviciate's cloister, but Torquemada managed to increase the funds for the work by drawing the attention of the king and queen themselves, who, with their donations and the application in the works of the goods confiscated from the Jews and heretics, gave a new character to the convent. In this way, Núñez de Arnalte's original project grew under the patronage of the Catholic Monarchs, who even declared later that they had "ordered that it be founded and built anew". The construction of a palace around the so-called cloister of Los Reyes and the burial in the church of their son the *infante* Juan, who died in 1497, confirm the unusual nature of the final construction. The first stone was laid on 11 April 1482 and the community was able to move in on 4 August 1493, when only a few parts of the convent remained to be completed.

The monastery as a whole is today in relatively good condition, bearing in mind that it was on the point of being lost in the nineteenth century after various public auctions and after having been proposed as a possible textile factory and hospital. It was saved by the generous soul of one of its purchasers, José Bachiller (1844), who spent his entire fortune on maintaining the building and did not even hesitate to pay the cost of services in the church. This eventually ruined him and his creditors once more put the convent up for auction. Another queen, this time Isabella II, bought it and gave it to the bishopric of Ávila, who used it as a seminary. After that it was put to use to quarter troops, until, finally, in 1876, the Dominicans returned to Santo Tomás. It is true that its assets were scattered, as, for example, in the case of the altarpieces by Berruguete, which were originally in the church, then in the cloister, and today are in the Museo del Prado, but the visit to Santo Tomás still produces a profound impression, both because of the personality of the church and because of the unique spatial sequence of its three cloisters: Noviciado, Silencio and Reyes.

The church is a beautiful example of the so-called conventual type, frequent at the end of the fifteenth century and repeated by other orders in the years of the Catholic Monarchs. It has a single nave and a transept with short arms which do not exceed the exterior perimeter of the chapels opening off the church between the buttresses. The seven vaulted sections add up to a total of forty-seven metres in length, and the width and height of the nave are nine and a half and nineteen metres, respectively, which gives it very sightly and slender proportions. Nevertheless, in spite of its height, the church is rather dark because of the small number and size of the windows, when in fact the Gothic architecture of the end of the Middle Ages went farther than any other in opening the walls to flood the church interior with light. Elsewhere I have said that the light in Santo Tomás does not match its architectural structure and that in this sense it is like a Gothic church with Romanesque lighting.

The plans were the work of the master Martín de Solórzano, who at that time was also active in the new church of San Francisco in Ávila, and no doubt must have answered to the criteria imposed on him by Fray Tomás de Torquemada. It may, perhaps, be too easy to associate the shadow of his inquisitorial office with the gloom of the church. As in other conventual churches, that of Santo Tomás has a raised choir at the western end, where the stalls for the community were placed, but what is unusual is that the same solution of a segmental arch with its corresponding vault is repeated at the eastern end of the church, where the altar stands with the extraordinary altarpiece by Pedro Berruguete, fortunately *in situ*. This forms a private, conventual level, enclosed and raised, distinct from the lower level of the public church occupied by the faithful.

In this way, by raising the presbytery, the community can easily see the celebration at the altar from the back of the choir, without hiding it from the faithful in what we could call the lower church. Conventual enclosure and lay attendance are made compatible by hierarchising the space in a unit which does not need railings or other dividing elements. No doubt this formula must have been repeated in other cases, and in the church of San Francisco in Ávila there are signs of this. However, in no other church has it survived in this form to our day.

This solution no doubt gave a certain theatrical air to the church interior, an effect which was accentuated when the tomb of the *infante* Juan, the son of the Catholic Monarchs, was placed beneath the crossing. Juan, who had married Margaret of Austria in Burgos in the spring of 1497, at the age of twenty, died in Salamanca in the autumn of that same year. His remains were moved to this monastery by express desire of the king and queen, who had reserved the patronage of the high

chapel and endowed it at that time with 40,000 *maravedís*, "with the charge of a daily sung mass and two annual anniversaries for their son", as Cienfuegos tells us. By testamentary disposition of Isabella the Catholic, a magnificent tomb was then built by the Florentine Domenico Fancelli, who used marble brought from Genoa (1512), leaving us with a work of the most exquisite Italian Renaissance taste. With the church therefore converted as a monumental pantheon, the half-light which always bathes it appears the most appropriate.

Here, where the king and queen were to come so often to mourn, since here, as well as a son, "the hopes of all of Spain" were buried, as the humanist Pedro Mártir de Angleria said, we also find the tombs of Juan Dávila and Juana Velázquez de la Torre, Juan's tutors. Apparently it was the prince himself who during his lifetime asked his parents for the patronage of this chapel for his mentors. The work was commissioned years later from the sculptor Pedro de Salamanca, who undertook to have it finished in 1550: "the said work must be well made and finished and everything to do with statues and harpies and history and children and moulding, which is all alabaster, must all be polished with polish, so that it is very shiny and very perfected".

His youth and the circumstances surrounding the death of the prince, the presence of his tutors, the nature of the church and the funeral dirge sung by the monks from the seating of the magnificent choir, attributed to Martín Sanchez (1492), provide the archetypal ingredients for a romantic drama worthy of Bécquer or Zorrilla.

We have already mentioned three important cloisters. The oldest of these is El Noviciado, also known as La Enfermería, as this is where the infirmary is. It is very sober on both storeys, with depressed arches on octagonal pillars and wooden ceilings. The second, called El Silencio or El Procesional, as it is used as an extension of the church for processions, is the one most closely linked to the church and acts as a hallway leading to the sacristy, chapter house, refectory, library, choir and cells. The ground floor communicates with the upper storey by means of a spectacular staircase. It is a two-storey structure but, whereas the ground floor is a massive construction with powerful buttresses to counter the weight of the ribbed vaults of the four galleries, the upper storey is light and airy, and its passages are an invitation to stroll in silence, which is where it gets it other name from. This second upper storey stands out for its weightlessness, with its wooden ceiling, which allows generous openings whose pilasters and arches are decorated with the familiar series of balls which tend to identify a *modus operandi* under the Catholic Monarchs. But even more direct are the symbols of the yoke, the Gordian knot and the arrows, alternating with the Order's coat of arms with the fleur-de-lis on the balustrade, and the pomegranates on the spandrels of the arches which announce to the four winds who the regal builders of Santo Tomás were.

But this convent holds further surprises, as there is a third cloister in the part that was Isabella and Ferdinand's palace, with its own independent entrance and with a palatial arrangement of staircase and large rooms on the main floor occupying the north and west sides of the cloister of Los Reyes. The king and queen, "orphans of so great a son" (Angleria), used these rooms as their summer palace, which they continued to visit in spite of their sorrow, while other authors say they spent no more than two summers there. The fact is that there is the palace, the convent and the pantheon, an obvious forerunner of what El Escorial was to be, as Fernando Chueca so rightly says. The four galleries of the courtyard-cloister are roofed in wood and the architecture of its arcades is once again airy, sober and on the ground floor decorated with the characteristic balls that can be seen in many other parts of the convent. From the palace, the king and queen had access both to the presbytery and to the choir, where the first two stalls awaited them, with clear royal signs and separated from the monks' stalls.

This courtyard, also lined with cells which, as in the rest of the convent, are located on the south side of the complex, died with the Catholic Monarchs, but found new breath in one of the last wishes of Queen Isabella, which was the foundation of a University of the Order (1504), with three lecturers in Arts, two in Theology and a master of students. Thus the so-called courtyard of Los Reyes became a university cloister and remained active during the sixteenth century to judge by the declarations of certain eye-witnesses from the University of Salamanca, who in 1576 said, "that in said College of Santo Tomás de Ávila arts and theology have been read ordinarily, and the said arts and theology are heard by the college friars of the said college and the clergy and students of the said city of Ávila and other places".

This activity took place on the ground floor of the cloister, where one can still see signs of what were its classrooms with benches and pulpits for the readings, now lost. The statutes of what was to be the University of Ávila, approved by Philip IV in 1638, cover the particular situation of the classrooms: "Firstly we ordain and establish that in the city of Ávila, in the convent and college of Santo Tomás el Real, there shall be a University, cloister, schools and classrooms on the site of the cloister of the said Monastery, where shall be read sciences and faculties [Theology, Logic, Philosophy, Metaphysics]...and degrees be given in the form these Statutes shall determine; and we indicate as the place where the [university] Cloister shall meet and the degrees be given [baccalaureate and degree] the main classroom of Theology which is located in the royal courtyard of the said Monastery...".

This commendable intellectual activity erases the times when those walls were the setting for the inquisitorial activities of Fray Tomás de Torquemada, who was initially buried in the sacristy of the convent, though once he had been forgotten after the liberals of Ávila had burned his remains in 1836, in the so-called brazier of La Dehesa, where many supposed heretics were put to death by the Inquisition and where, very recently, an impressive Muslim cemetery has been discovered.

San Esteban. Salamanca.

In Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's *Viaje por España*, published in 1883 but written some years earlier, the author gives a poetic description of the city of Salamanca, praising the old and new cathedrals and then going on to the Dominican convent of San Esteban, "gracefully dominating another hill and reflecting the sunlight on its square red cupola...It was a truly Cesarean scene, of Olympic grandeur...! It was further justification for Salamanca's epithet of *Little Rome*". Indeed, anyone who has watched the way the evening sun caresses the façade of San Esteban at any time of the year will find Alarcón's feelings more than justified.

If any city in Spain can truly be considered a conventual city on account of the number and the size of its convents, this city is Salamanca. To the mere piety of their founders in other places is added here the express desire of the several orders to have a house close to the University at which to educate their members. At the same time, the convents themselves can be considered an extension of the university teaching, as many of them had lecture-halls which were attended by the city's students. Amongst them, San Esteban stood out as the most important.

But the importance of this Dominican convent is not measured only by its participation in the university city's teaching plan. Its walls and its people were the setting and the protagonists of capital events in Spanish culture, which, referring to Salamanca and the sixteenth century, is the same as saying European culture. Elsewhere I have written that it is dizzying to approach the crowded history of this community of Dominicans, where one does not know which to admire more, its contribution to culture or the monumental architecture providing the exceptional setting in which that contribution was made. It is enough to remember the support the Dominican community of San Esteban in Salamanca gave to Columbus's project, through the

person of its prior, the theologian Fray Diego de Deza, the most important figure in the Spanish Church at the time of the Catholic Monarchs, along with Cisneros. Like Cisneros, he was archbishop and inquisitor general, and just as the Franciscan Cisneros was confessor to Isabella the Catholic, the Dominican Deza was confessor to Ferdinand the Catholic. Columbus, in his letters, remembers Fray Diego de Deza with gratitude and considers him the reason why "their Highnesses have the Indies and I remain in Castile". Does this explain the name of Santo Domingo given to the capital of the island of Hispaniola, today's Dominican Republic? Certainly, it is to Diego de Deza that we owe the intercession before Pope Julius II for the erection of the first cathedral in the Americas (1512) in the city that bears the name of the founder of the Order of Preachers, Santo Domingo de Guzmán.

The relationship between the convent of San Esteban and the American enterprise was not limited to those substantial beginnings; this was where the first criticisms arose regarding the conquest of the continent, in the words and writings of Dominicans educated at, related with or with a cell in the convent, such as Antonio de Montesinos, who was followed by amongst others, Bartolomé de las Casas, Francisco de Vitoria —the father of International Law— and Domingo de Soto. Many of their opinions were to guide Philip III's Ordinances of 1573 for America. Some of these important names, university professors, skilful preachers, always immersed in subtle theological disputes, also had their feet on the ground and contributed to the construction and improvement of the convent. Amongst them was Domingo de Soto, after whom the cloister's monumental staircase is named, who solved the difficulties of access to the convent with the construction of a bridge, still standing, though modified.

The Dominicans became established early on in Salamanca, as San Esteban figures amongst the twenty houses the order had in 1250, though nothing remains of that first thirteenth-century foundation which had the support of Pope Alexander IV and King Alfonso X. The present complex was raised on the old site, in such a way that none of what remains dates from earlier than 1524, when the new work was started, except for the "De Profundis" hall, which dates from the significant year of 1492. The renovation of the old convent seems to foresee the exceptional period the order and this convent in particular were to see in the sixteenth century. The initiative is due to Fray Juan Álvarez de Toledo, son of the Second Duke of Alba, former Bishop of Cordoba and Burgos and finally Cardinal in Rome at the proposal of Charles V.

His noviciate and entry into the order took place in the old convent of San Esteban (1507), where at some point in his life he declared that "the first thing I must do is demolish this church and build a new one", as indeed he did following his consecration as bishop of Cordoba in 1523. Soon afterwards, while in Cordoba, he put his commitment to the work in writing: "We Don Fray Juan de Toledo, Bishop of Cordoba...The Holy Spirit influenced our heart that we take up the habit of our father Saint Dominic in the monastery of the very noble and loyal city of Salamanca in which with all the humility and devotion that we could we made our profession, for whose cause we decided to contribute from our income some small part to be employed in his extremely holy service, therefore we hereby make known to you Hernando Rodríguez del Castillo, majordomo of this our Bishopric of Cordoba and to any other person hereafter holding this post that our wish is that now and hereafter the prior, friars and convent of the said monastery should receive from us each year until the church of the said monastery of San Esteban de Salamanca is finished two thousand ducats..." (1526).

But the friar and bishop, who had reserved for himself the property and patronage of the high chapel, the crossing and one of the lateral chapels for his burial, died in Rome in 1557 without being able to see the work finished. This work was then interrupted and a long lawsuit began with the heirs of the Cardinal for the fulfilment of his last wishes. Indeed, his will expressed his wish to be buried in San Esteban "and be buried in the middle of the high chapel where I order that a tomb be made not so much for pomp and vainglory but to move the faithful in Christ to virtue and so that looking at me they may pray to God for my soul". His remains finally rested in the crypt beneath the high altar but the cenotaph Fray Juan Álvarez de Toledo wanted was not built.

Fortunately, after considerable interruptions, the work continued thanks to other monks who came along, some of whom also reached different episcopal sees from which to divert the necessary incomes for the gradual completion of the convent. Amongst their names we find those of Pedro Herera, Bishop of the Canaries and of Tuy, who financed part of the sacristy in which he is buried; Iñigo de Brizuela, consecrated Bishop of Segovia and confessor to the Archdukes Alberto and Isabel Clara Eugenia, who paid for the chapter house; Pedro de Godoy, Bishop of Sigüenza, and Clemente Álvarez, Bishop of Guadix and Baza, who financed the upper library; Pedro de Tapia, Bishop of Cordoba, Juan de Épila and Francisco de Araujo, Bishop of Segovia, to whom we owe the seating in the upper choir, presided by the great painting by Palomino, partly financed by the bishop of Oviedo, Tomás Reluz, who studied in San Esteban.

This sustained and select patronage partly explains the grandeur of the convent which began according to the plans made by Juan de Álava, the first stone being laid on 30 June 1524. Álava was at that time an experienced master mason whose activity was known not only in the city of Salamanca but in places as far away as Santiago and Plasencia, in whose cathedrals he had occasion to intervene. The architect, or master stonemason, as he appears in the documentation, made the church a final, perfected version of what were known as conventual churches, consisting of a single nave, intercommunicating chapels between buttresses, short transept arms, a raised choir at the western end and a chevet which in Salamanca is particularly deep because it is planned to hold the founder's tomb.

On the basis of this model, so often repeated in the monastic and conventual churches of Spain in the second half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, San Esteban is exceptional, first of all, because of its dimensions, which obviously aim at those of a cathedral. Its main axis measures eighty-seven metres and the cupola exceeds forty metres in height. In spite of having been planned in the sixteenth century, the church is technically and stylistically a formidable example of late Gothic, which had in Álava one of its greatest and last interpreters, well assisted by stonemasons such as Francisco Desquivel, Juan de Albistur, Domingo de Lasarte and Domingo de Ibarra.

For reasons that are unknown to us, in about 1533, by mediation of Fray Juan Álvarez de Toledo, the direction of the works was taken over by the Dominican lay brother Fray Martín de Santiago, who lived in the convent itself. To him we owe some of the modifications suggested by Fray Juan himself, such as the greater depth of the chevet to house a choir, or the amplitude given the north transept forming the chapel of El Rosario, as well as the increase in the height of the vaults. Following the death of Fray Martín de Santiago, in 1556 the work was entrusted to the great Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, to whom we owe the final solution of the transept with its powerful cupola, as well as the design of the windows in the chevet, amongst may other things. Gil de Hontañón's links with San Esteban go beyond purely professional considerations, as he had a son, born out of wedlock, who professed in the convent under the name of Fray Juan de Sancti-Spiritus. There were still some important finishing touches needed on the church, which was not finished until Juan de Ribero completed it between 1590 and 1610.

The main façade is one of the most familiar images of Plateresque architecture, as there are few places like this where, thanks also to the white sandstone from the quarries of Villamayor, the

skilful carvers or sculptors filled this part of the building with a thousand different motifs in which the figurative and the real are combined with the dreamlike and fantastic to make up a genuine façade-altarpiece. The arrangement of vertical lanes and superimposed wings indeed seems to have been taken from the altarpiece structure, like a foretaste of the high chapel which in this case opens on to the exterior. As in carved or painted altarpieces, the greater width of the central lane contains the entrance door which turns the church interior into a *sacrarium*. At the same time, the central scene, with the stoning of Saint Stephen, refers to the patron saint of the church, while at the top the work is crowned by the scene of the Crucifixion between the Virgin and Saint John, as normally happens on any altarpiece. The decorative reliefs and carvings were worked in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the principal scene of Saint Stephen (1610) being signed by the Milanese sculptor Ceroni. The façade, inevitably, repeats the chequered shield of Cardinal Álvarez de Toledo at various points, reminding subsequent generations of his undertaking.

The church interior offers a powerful image of light and architecture, with the formidable proportions of its nave, which draw the eye towards the presbytery. Here, with surprising energy, emerges the altarpiece Prior Gonzalo Mateos commissioned in 1692 from José Churriguera, who also made other altarpieces for this church. Its powerful Solomonic columns, the beautiful tabernacle and the *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen* painted by Claudio Coello make this work one of the most characteristic items of Spanish art.

A few years later, Antonio Palomino painted one of the most remarkable mural paintings in the brief chapter of fresco painting in Spain. It dates from 1705 and the painter himself wrote of his work, "Since the object of this holy place is to sing the praises to the Creator in this militant church, in representation of those perennially sung in the triumphant church by the heavenly choirs of blessed spirits; it seemed very suitable to paint in this place the church militant and triumphant: she that signifies the congregation and union of the faithful who militate beneath the flags of Jesus Christ...". With these words, Palomino makes an express reference to the choir —the place where the praises are sung— on which he painted this colourful scene and whose seating was made by Alfonso Balbás between 1651 and 1658. Palomino's monumental composition, which occupies the top of the front wall, is partly inspired in Rubens's tapestries of the *Triumph of the Eucharist*, making this scene a clear Baroque sermon highly suited to a church of preachers, with obvious references to the order and its ministry featuring, amongst others, Saint Dominic and Saint Thomas.

The convent buildings are arranged in long galleries or ample open spaces perpendicular or parallel to the three main cloisters, called Los Reyes, Los Aljibes and La Enfermería. The last two, whose chief function is indicated by their names (water deposits and infirmary) are similar in style, with analogous formulas using segmental arches on robust columns on both storeys, all very simple and robust. By contrast, the architecture of the cloister of Los Reyes, also known as the cloister of Processions, is extremely rich and spectacular, and its galleries communicate with the main convent buildings, such as the church, sacristy, main or Soto staircase, chapter house, old chapter or theologians' pantheon, which contains the remains of the great jurist Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto, amongst others.

The cloister was begun in the cardinal's lifetime following plans by Juan de Álava, having a square floor plan thirty-six metres along each side. The ground floor has slender ribbed vaults using formulas and outlines very characteristic of that master who did not hesitate to include medallions with heads on the inner surface of the large pilasters from which the vaulting springs. Beneath the arches of the galleries, the mullions are Gothic in their slenderness but their design belongs to the "Roman" world, also the criterion for the upper gallery communicating the cells with the church choir. To reach this upper floor of the cloister Fray Domingo de Soto handed over to the convent all the benefits from his works to pay for the staircase which rightly bears his name. The staircase is in the corner of the cloister and its originality lies in the fact that it is only supported at the top and bottom and is isolated from the wall, which it never touches. This work, unquestionably a prodigy of stonemasonry, was directed by the lay brother Fray Martín de Santiago, and its design, as well as its virtuosity, monumentality and lighting make it one of the most spectacular staircases in the Spanish tradition.

The seventeenth century was equally generous with the convent, as between the elegant gatehouse porch, the work of Juan de Ribero (1590), and the library built over it in 1683, the new chapter house (1627-1634) and the sacristy (1635) were built in a sober post-Escorial classicist style.

THE HIERONYMITES

The Order of Saint Jerome.

Monastic life has always had in Saint Jerome (347-420) an essential reference, as the testimony of his life and the writings he left make him the West's first important monk, though weathered in the desert of Chalcis, in Syria. He was born in Stridon, near Aquileia, in Northern Italy, and after studying grammar and rhetoric in Rome he became a monk and moved to the desert to take up a hermit's life devoted to meditation and penitence. This is the image of him perpetuated by the traditional iconography, based on the *Golden Legend*. However, the life of Saint Jerome was rather more than this picture of devotion. On his return to Rome he became secretary to Pope Damasus I and explained the Holy Scriptures, at the same time as he criticised the false, relaxed way of life of the monks he met in the city, in whom everything "is affected: loose sleeves, badly fitting sandals, habit too rough, frequent sighs, visits to virgins, murmurings against the clergy and, when a rather more solemn feast day comes round, feasting until they vomit". Following the death of the Pope (384), he went to Palestine and founded two monasteries in Bethlehem, one for men and one for women, where he led a coenobitic life until his death, having first completed the Latin translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate, which was the official and orthodox version of the Church of Rome.

In spite of that monastic experience as a hermit in the wild and as a coenobite in the monastery, Saint Jerome wrote no rule and founded no religious order. His ideas on monasteries are to be found scattered in letters, sermons, exhortations and other writings referring to the monk (*monachus*) as an ascetic, as the man who renounces the world in search of solitude and even exile, living off his manual work to compensate the intellectual and spiritual task of the two chief ways of reaching Christ: reading (*lectio divina*) and prayer. Fasting ("our sustenance is the fast") and other privations made it possible to reach that "spiritual madness" which involves "despising delights, desiring what is vile, abandoning the cities, searching for solitude, ignoring love, casting off one's family, and searching for Christ".

That life of Saint Jerome has been imitated by many other hermits in the course of history, but what interests us here is the birth of the Order of Saint Jerome as such, which took place in Spain and whose foundational bull is dated 1373. There is nothing to link Saint Jerome to the order which since the fourteenth century has borne his name, except for those basic ideas on the life of the monk and the devout admiration the saint arouses as one of the four Fathers of the Church, but which is shared with any religious institute. In this respect, Fray Pedro de la Vega, the first chronicler of the Order of Saint Jerome, wrote in 1539 that "Many years after the monastery of Saint Jerome in Bethlehem was destroyed and its memory had perished, since our Lord wanted to exalt his saint and

make his name in this way glorious and venerable before us, that for no space of time could it be lost and forgotten, he revealed the establishment of the order in this way". In other words, the idea was to retrieve his name and memory but not to resuscitate any existing order.

In short, the new order went through two different periods. The first of these, known as the foundational period, began with the bull signed in Avignon by Pope Gregory XI in 1373 and saw the proliferation of small, mutually independent Hieronymite communities all over the Peninsula. The second period was one of consolidation and expansion, beginning in 1414 with the bull issued by Benedict XIII, by which the Hieronymites were exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, could unite in a single order and hold a General Chapter, like the one held the following year in Guadalupe.

The bull of 1373 contains the distinctive elements of the order, which time was to amend through the resolutions of the 136 chapters held by the Hieronymites up to the nineteenth century. But what is fundamental about the bull is the licence it grants to Fernando Yánez de Cáceres, canon of Toledo, and to Pedro Fernández Pecha —who along with "other men, both clergy and laymen, nobles and plebeians, of the kingdoms of Castile, León and Portugal and from other parts" led a life of solitude as hermits— to call themselves "brothers or hermits of Saint Jerome, given their special devotion to the blessed Jerome". For this the Pope indicated that they should adhere to the rule of Saint Augustine, to which we have already referred in speaking about the Premonstratensians, "under which you shall militate for the Lord, and observe, in accordance with the attached (apostolic letters), with habit and according to the rite, the constitutions, ceremonies and observance of the monastery of Saint mary of the Holy Sepulchre in Campora (Florence).

The pontifical text wants to leave no doubt as to the scope of the authorisations, and even describes the habit: "a closed, loose tunic of thick or rough white cloth, with loose, closed sleeves, plus the scapular and the cape attached at the front either of grey or plain undyed wool; the cape we do not consider a necessity, except for the modesty of the said habit, but you shall wear it when you go out in public". Finally, the papal authorisation included the great yearning of this group of hermits, "to found four monasteries or conventual sites, to wit, each of them with a church, cemetery and humble belfry with a single bell, and cloister and the necessary offices, in modest places suited to this, which must be endowed in the course of time with the pious alms and donations of the faithful". These slight indications set the basis for the future Hieronymite monastery, which already had a tried and tested casuistry as regards possible formal solutions, with no sign of any options radically different from anything that had gone before. However, one can always find aspects that are novel but immediately shared with other orders, such as the raised monks' choir at the western end of the church, or the arrangement of courtyards that tend to be associated with their chief uses: processions, infirmary, accommodation and gatehouse.

The first four monasteries following the papal bull were those of San Bartolomé de Lupiana (Guadalajara), which was the order's motherhouse, Santa María de Sisla, in Toledo, San Jerónimo de Guisando (Ávila), and San Jerónimo de Corral Rubio, also in Toledo, but when the first General Chapter was held it was attended by the priors and procurators of twenty-five monasteries. This growth continued in the fifteenth century and met with special royal favour in the following century, with the presence of Charles V in Yuste and the foundation by Philip II of the monastery of El Escorial, a crowded synthesis of architecture and monastic life in Spain.

Santa María de El Parral. Segovia.

The famous chronicler of the Order of Saint Jerome, Fray José de Sigüenza (1544-1606), had the following to say about El Parral: "The prince Don Enrique was fond of life in Segovia, since there he had occasion for his love of the countryside and hunting, of which there was plenty in the forests of Valsaín. He lacked something else which was also to his liking, which was to have a monastery to which to retreat for a few days and hear the divine office. It seemed to him that if he built a monastery of Hieronymites in that city he would have everything he desired. He spoke of this idea to his great favourite Don Juan Pacheco, who knew how to respond well to his tastes and earn his goodwill... He found after careful searching an admirable place for the purpose, on the bank of the river the locals call Eresma, slightly raised on the side of a hill, sheltered by it and by some cliffs from the cold north winds, which are very cold in that land, facing south, where the sun reaches it from morning to night, a stone's throw from the walls [of the city], bordering on the Alcázar Real, slightly raised to the east, as warm as can be wished for there, and like perpetual spring...".

The long description of the place, praising its virtues, and the changes of fortune that followed the wishes of the future King Henry IV, all of which are recorded by Sigüenza, sum up the basis of this foundation whose patronage was to be absorbed by his favourite, Juan de Pacheco, Marquis of Villena. The first step consisted in the acquisition of land and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin (1447), after which a Bull was obtained from Pope Nicholas V "to build this said monastery specifically in this place, where it is now founded, as it appears from the said bull in the cabinet of the scriptures of the convent, in which place there are vines and orchards and flowing waters...", which explains the origin of the double name of the monastery: Santa María del Parral (Saint Mary of the Vine).

The Marquis of Villena, who managed the whole of the foundational process, asked the Hieronymites of Guadalupe for a group of monks "to populate and build the said monastery" of El Parral. With an initial endowment from the Marquis of Villena himself of 15,000 *maravedís*, the initial work was begun with a provisional nature, and the newcomers were provided with "a certain sum of money to buy beds and household objects, and to buy the song books for the choir and missals and breviaries and some ornaments for the sacristy", which was yet to be built, though one gets an idea of the prior spiritual construction of the monastery by its founders and monks. To this first endowment were soon added another 20,000 *maravedís* given by the still Prince Henry, who "open-handedly and magnificently started the building of this monastery from the foundations". Indeed, following the death of his father King John II in 1454, Prince Henry inherited the crown of Castile "and as he was very devoted to all the Order of our father Saint Jerome and much more of this house of Nuestra Señora del Parral and he saw how the said Don Juan Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, was not starting to build the said monastery on the said site he had bought eight years before, showed by his works what was in his desire". In other words, he started to build the present monastery, beginning with the main cloister and its rooms at the same time as he began the church from the chancel end.

Isidoro Bosarte, who was able to see and publish the documents of the monastery kept in the cabinet or chest of deeds and later lost for ever, describes the facts of the first reconsideration of the monastery due to the master mason Juan Gallego (1459): "The distribution of the monastery clearly shows the judgement of the architect, with attention to the rooms, courtyards and offices for the use of all the convent. Suffice it to say that he was able to gather the waters from the springs in the rocks and channel them without detriment to the works and make a display of them. A beautiful fountain emerges from between the pillars inside the cloister, which could have been provided to ease the thirst of those entering or leaving the monastery, without the need to ask for water from the servants. Another can be heard laughing loudly in an inner room leading to the church. What a pleasant sound in the silence of that holy house on

hot summer afternoons! In short, the architect provided for all sacred, human, rustic and drinking uses with as much abundance as discretion by means of many channels and fountains".

If water is the beginning of all things, as Thales of Miletus said, or the source of life, as the well-known Latin saying has it, *aqua fons vitae*, in El Parral the water can be heard as an interminable prayer issuing from the very entrails of the earth. It is something to be noted that the famous Flemish panel by Van Eyck known as the *Fountain of Grace*, today in the Museo del Prado, came from the sacristy of this Hieronymite monastery, where to the view of the painting was added the murmur of the underground water.

With the church yet to be vaulted, the Marquis of Villena requested of the king the patronage of the high chapel to turn it into a family pantheon, offering in exchange to finance the work until its completion. It was then, in 1472, when Pacheco contracted with the master masons Martín Sánchez Bonifacio and Juan Guas, of Toledo, and Pedro Polido, of Segovia, to finish off the work, which they undertook to complete by 1475: "and they began afterwards to work on the said chapel and they raised it from the entablature to above the right foot with its windows rich in mouldings as it is now". The death of Henry IV and of the Marquis of Villena in 1474 held the work up for many years, leaving the sanctuary unvaulted until Fray Pedro de Mesa, the prior and first monk to receive the habit in El Parral, managed to get together the necessary funds to cover the high chapel (1485) and the rest of the church (1503). In all this undertaking an important part was played by another Hieronymite, Fray Juan de Escobedo, who made repairs to the aqueduct in Segovia and who, according to Sigüenza. acted as "master of the works, he gave the plans and he gave orders to the builders, shared out the work and the wages and paid them, and they came to El Parral to receive the money, and everything went through his hands, and everything finished well without anyone protesting and without defects to be found in the work".

Years later the master mason Juan Campero, of Ávila, completed the tower (1529) and with it the church, though he never finished off the façade, which today presents an unhappy, unfinished picture, overlooked by the coats of arms of the heirs of Juan Pacheco, Diego López Pacheco and Juana Enríquez, who financed this unsuccessful part of the work.

The church belongs to the group of "conventual" churches of the fifteenth century, of which this is one of the most complete examples: a single nave, short transept, chapel between buttresses, a presbytery on raised steps (inexplicably destroyed in one of the last restorations, which altered the original arrangement of the presbytery) and a raised choir over a vault at the western end, the work of the master builder Juan Ruesga, of Segovia, in 1494, without forgetting the organ gallery, now lost. The church's originality lies in the arrangement of the three apses which form the cross of the ground floor around the transept crossing, as they respond to a solution which tends to give unity to the high chapel, the transept arms and the crossing itself, as a whole, with light of its own distinct from the rest of the church, as this part is indeed different, subtly sheltering behind its railing, now lost, as the enclosed area it was. The pulpit immediately above the nave shows which was the area for the faithful, what we could call the public church.

The alabaster tombs of Juan Pacheco and his wife, María Portocarrero, on either side of the high altarpiece, all contracted and carried out in the first half of the sixteenth century, form a striking triptych whose arrangement becomes the necessary forerunner for the façade of the church of El Escorial, whose monastery and church were governed by this same Hieronymite Order.

While the church is extremely beautiful in every detail, the one thing that will always stand out in my memory is the impressive doorway to the sacristy, the work of Juan Guas and one of the freest conceptions of Flamboyant Gothic in our country. Soon afterwards, in about 1500, the adjacent sacristy was built, which I have described elsewhere as one of the oldest models of what should really be called "Spanish sacristies", given the way they are conceived as a large chapel with its own altar, leaving the central space clear as the bulky furniture with drawers for keeping the liturgical linen and vessels is moved to the little chapels between the buttresses.

The main cloister is of a large size, its maximum dimensions exceeding the length of the church, in such a way that here one can clearly see its function as a distributor around which are arranged the accessory buildings. These are the church itself, which communicates with the cloister via the processional alley; the chapter house; the prior's cell, in the same place and with the same orientation as the prior's cell at the monastery of El Escorial; the monks' cells, aligned on the southern side of the cloister to get the brighter and warmer midday sun; the refectory, with an interesting Mudejar roof structure in three sections and the inevitable pulpit for the readings, with a fine Gothic design; and finally the chapels opening off the cloister, after the main staircase.

From the stylistic point of view, the cloister is surprising on account of the Mudejar treatment of its arcades. On all four sides and both storeys, the arches are supported on octagonal pillars which bring to mind the Mudejar cloister of Guadalupe, which is not surprising if we remember that the first friars at El Parral came from this monastery in Extremadura. Here, in fact, appears the unmistakable combination of having twice as many arches on the upper storey as on the ground floor, though in Segovia the outline of the arches has lost the Moorish purity of the ones in Guadalupe, thus lessening the Islamic effect. On the north side is a third gallery of flat arches, open to the south like a solarium, as we find in other Hieronymite monasteries such as San Bartolomé de Lupiana or San Jerónimo el Real in Granada.

As well as the main courtyard, or courtyard of Las Processiones, El Parral exhibits a full range of lesser cloisters whose names are associated with other functions, distinct from and complementary to those that take place in the main cloister. Thus we find the gatehouse cloister, the hospice cloister and the infirmary cloister, as well as another series of arcades opening on to the gardens and the countryside that makes El Parral a continuous mirador.

The monastery suffered heavy losses as a result of the French invasion and of disentailment. Think, for example, of the formidable choir seating now divided between the Museo Arqueológico Nacional and the convent of San Francisco el Grande in Madrid, a beautiful work carved by Bartolomé Fernández in 1526 on the basis of an engraving by Dürer. On the other hand, El Parral preserves its most highly prized treasure, which is none other than its Hieronymite community. Anyone who has had the privilege of sharing a simple meal with it in the refectory, where body and soul are fed in impressive silence listening to the day's readings, knows that there, in those men in their white and brown clothes, lies its greatest asset.

San Jerónimo de Yuste. Cuacos (Cáceres).

The monastery of San Jerónimo de Yuste (Cáceres) arose out of a modest eremitic organisation in the first years of the fifteenth century, known as "ermitaños de la pobre vida" (hermits of the poor life). Having obtained a papal licence from Benedict XIII to build a small chapel dedicated to Saint Paul the Hermit, they expressed their wish to join the Hieronymite Order to the prior of Guadalupe in 1414. Thanks to the mediation of García Álvarez de Toledo, Lord of Oropesa, one year later they achieved their aim and began the process of building. This lasted a large part of the fifteenth century and culminated in the sixteenth with the new Renaissance cloister. However, the universal fame of the monastery of Yuste was to come a little later, following Charles V's abdication in favour of his son Philip II and the emperor's subsequent withdrawal to the modest palace raised on one side of the church of the monastery of Yuste, where he

who had been its lord and master spent his last days on this earth.

However, in this case, as in practically all the Spanish monasteries, the troubled, turbulent history of our nineteenth century caused the almost total destruction of the Hieronymite monastery, palace and imperial pantheon, so that all one can see today is a sort of architectural resurrection with its successes and its lacunae. If the reader thinks this is an exaggeration, see the pages that Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1833-1891) devotes to Yuste in his *Viajes de España*, whence come these heartfelt words: "Of my visit to the ruins of Yuste's *cloisters* I keep an indelible memory. Nature has taken it on herself to beautify that theatre of desolation. The pieces of columns and the stones from the arches, which lie on the ground of what were courtyards and galleries, are dressed in luxuriant ivy. The water, now without destiny, from the old fountains can be heard beneath the rubble, as though buried alive and crying out for help, or as though remembering and calling on the old friars to rebuild the monumental building. And everywhere, amongst the ivy and the moss, or amongst the wild flowers and the bushes with which May adorned those mounds of carved marble, we saw the shields of arms of the House of Oropesa, sculpted in the stones that served as keystones or capitals of the now ruined arches.

The four walls of the *refectory* remain standing; but the ceiling, which collapsed as a result of the fire, forms a great mass of rubble in the room. Work is going on today to remove all this refuse, and the tiling that covered the base of the walls is beginning to appear. The *Convento de Novicios* subsists, though in very bad condition. There, as you know, the last friars lived after the *catastrophe of the Building*, which occurred in 1809, until the *catastrophe of the Community*, which occurred in 1835.

We went into some of the *cells*. The same mute silence reined there as in the cells of the Palace of Charles V. Neither people nor furnishings remained... The naked walls spoke the pathetic language of orphanhood and bereavement. This was more melancholy than the ruins of the other great convent clustered under the ivy. A habitable and uninhabited cell represents, indeed, something more lethal and fearsome than destruction. The pieces of marble we had just seen were like closed tombs: the cells of the noviciate were like empty graves or coffins, from which the corpses have just been removed. Yes, everything empty! everything ravaged! everything sacked!... That was how our eyes that morning saw everything we contemplated, everything we remembered, everything that came to mind through the association of ideas. In Yuste..., an open tomb, from which Charles V had been removed. In El Escorial..., another empty tomb, from which he had also been temporarily evicted... And if we chanced on the fantastic hope that the exhumed and mocked mummy of the Caesar, ashamed at its public nakedness, could cross the Guadarrama, under shadow of the night, to go and find in Yuste its original grave, we realised with a shudder that it would not find its wooden coffin in place either, but perched in what was once a niche for a saint who had probably been knocked to the ground with stones... And everything like this! Everything like this! Wherever the troubled imperial spectre turned his eyes, he would find the same disruption, the same upheaval, his own devastation and misery, as though the world had come to the day of judgement..."

A long, patient task of restoration still in progress is trying to make peace with history, in search of times irremediably lost. All that remains are the shadows of what was once a monastic life, the places once visited by Charles V, but only with a great effort and erudition, like the painters of history of the nineteenth century, can we reconstruct the general picture of this Extremaduran monastery, whose name was heard more than once in all the courts of Europe.

Church, cloisters and palace are the three most significant elements of this complex, although there are other buildings added such as the hospice or the so-called Casa del Obispo —where the bishop of Plasencia housed his servants when he stayed in Yuste—, which along with the gardens, fountains and pools add complexity to this monastic site perched on a gentle slope over exceptional countryside in the vicinity of Cuacos.

As usual in the Hieronymite Order, the church, built in a late Gothic style between 1508 and 1525, has a single nave and a raised choir at the western end, with a very high presbytery. The north wall of the church is shared with the Gothic or "old" cloister, which at first was the processional cloister. Around it were the main monastery buildings until the so-called Renaissance cloister was built, completed in 1554 and partly paid for by Álvarez de Trujillo, Count of Oropesa, altering the original distribution which, for example, turned what should have been the chapter house into a large sacristy. This room, the refectory, the kitchen, infirmary and other community rooms occupy the ground floor of these cloisters, wile the cells are located on the upper storey, along with the laundry and other buildings whose initial use we have forgotten.

There is yet a third cloister or courtyard called El Emperador, which is not completely closed and which is on the south side of the monastery, where Charles V's palace was built. One can not help but wonder at his preference for this monastery, which is extremely simple even by Hieronymite standards, especially when that of Guadalupe was so close at hand, with undoubtedly better conditions for an emperor's retreat. But as Unamuno reminds us in his *Andanzas y visiones españolas*, the emperor wanted "retreat, true retreat, and Yuste is that".

The fact is that on the eve of the emperor's abdication, Prince Philip, as he still was then, had his father's rooms in the monastery of Yuste made available to him. They were next to the church and no doubt must be taken as a precedent to Philip II's own rooms in the monastery of El Escorial. Father Sigüenza describes the episode of the construction of the palace for Charles V as follows: "The General [of the Order, Fray Juan de Ortega(remained in Yuste, and along with Gaspar de Vega, master of the works of Valsaín, the forest of Segovia, planned the room and indicated the distribution and a design was made of all the floor and elevation of the whole monastery, which they sent to his majesty in Flanders. As master, or rather chief worker of this building, which was not large, the general indicated Fray Antonio de Villacastín, a religious of the Choristers, who professed at La Sisla in Toledo", in whom Philip II was to place such trust during the future construction of the monastery of El Escorial.

In this way the palace was planned, to which the emperor arrived on 3 February 1557, at five in the afternoon, "accompanied by all the servants who had followed him from Flanders, both those who had been dismissed and those who were to remain in his service. He was brought in a litter to the door, and there he was put in a chair. The Convent came out to receive him in procession as far as the door of the church; then they started to sing *Te Deum laudamus* with fine religous music and the organ responding, and so they came to the steps of the high altar. The church was filled with candles and as decorative as that convent could have it. Having said the prayers the Order has for such occasions, the monks came to his choir to kiss his hand..." (Sigüenza).

There Charles V found a modest construction on a raised level reached by a long ramp leading to a landing like an ample, deep gallery. Farther on, and with a simplicity that is moving, two rooms on either side of a passage: an audience hall and private quarters open to the south; an ante-room and the bedroom which communicated with the church, just as the emperor had requested, so that from his sickbed he could follow the celebrations at the altar. According to his will, Charles V wanted to be buried beneath the altar steps and in such a way that "half of the body, from the breast to the head, remained outside the altar, in the place where the priest stands to say mass, so that he put his feet on him".

An excellent altarpiece designed by Juan de Herrera and the seating of the monks' choir, re-

trieved after being moved to Cuacos, is a tiny part of the former endowment of a church which was the first to hold the exequies for the emperor, who died at Yuste on 21 September 1558, at half past two in the morning.

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Cáceres).

Within the general panorama of Hieronymite monasteries, Guadalupe is the exception that proves the rule, as its situation in the middle of a populated area is unusual, and it is not really Hieronymite in origin, while no other house of the order came to be as well known as Guadalupe, which is associated with a cult to the Virgin which partly eclipses its chiefly monastic condition and makes it a sanctuary for Marian pilgrimages. At the same time, the riches accumulated as a result of privileges, exemptions and donations of all sorts, the cultivation of large extensions of land and the returns from its abundant livestock, ensured the survival of Guadalupe after other Hieronymite monasteries had faded for ever.

All these resources allowed for an important monastery building and an extraordinary artistic treasury which Cervantes ably sums up when in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda* he says, "Four days the pilgrims spent in Guadalupe, during which they began to see the splendours of that holy monastery; I say began, because it is impossible to see them all". Thus speaks the writer at a time before the existence of splendours we can only briefly mention, such as the formidable sacristy (1636-1645), with pictures by Zurbarán, the Camarín de la Virgen (1687-1695) or the new church designed by Manuel Larra Churriguera (1730-1735), today converted as a theatre, the last interesting addition made to the monastery of Guadalupe, governed since 1908 by the Franciscan Order.

The miraculous discovery by a humble shepherd, Gil Cordero, of an image of the Virgin on the banks of the river Guadalupe led to the construction a chapel here around which modest houses were built to accommodate the pilgrims who were attracted by the miraculous legend which soon grew up around the image. Amongst its most assiduous devotees was King Alfonso XI, who after the victory over the Muslim troops at the river Salado (1340) looked with very special favour on Guadalupe. The most important result of this royal patronage was the formation of a secular priory (1340-1389) and the construction of the present church over another more modest one. In 1389 the last prior of Guadalupe, Juan Serrano, handed over to the Hieronymite Order everything that had become consolidated there within an important walled precinct. Guadalupe came under the custody of Fray Fernando Yáñez, the first Hieronymite prior, who was accompanied by thirty-three monks from Lupiana.

Some elements, such as the church with its nave and two side aisles, are not what is usual amongst the Hieronymites. These, on their arrival at Guadalupe, made certain changes in the organisation of the monastery, from the new position of the gatehouse to the addition of a deep raised choir at the western end of the church. To judge by an inscription at the entrance to the church, the master of the works was a certain Alfonso, though nothing more than this can be said for sure. It is an attractive Gothic church, with a transept and dome, which the years have filled with treasures ranging from the excellent presbytery screen, the work of the Dominicans Fray Francisco de Salamanca and Fray Juan de Ávila (1512) to the early seventeenth-century high altarpiece —substituting the earlier Gothic one, which Münzer says was of gold and ivory— and the monks' choir stalls. This seating, contracted with Manuel de Larra Churriguera (1744) and made with the participation of Alejandro Carnicero, was also a replacement for the earlier seating, which itself had replaced the old Gothic seating in 1499, increasing the number of seats to ninety-four, which gives an idea of the size of the monastery in the first half of the eighteenth century. The seating, the large and small organs, and the lectern —with its cheerful rococo style— seem to formally intone the first notes of the divine office which is of such importance for the Hieronymite Order in the daily life of the community.

Münzer, who visited the monastery in 1495, describes a church which is very different from today's, with thirty altars, sixteen lamps burning day and night, the crocodile skin, the elephant tusk and the turtle shell the German traveller saw in the church interior. But however striking all of this may be, he was even more impressed by the iron shackles "brought by the Christian captives who were freed from the Saracens by the intercession of the blessed Virgin; some of them were of a great weight, of twenty or forty pounds".

The miraculous intercession of the Virgin of Guadalupe in a series of causes had turned her church into a curious museum of thanksgiving, with a wide-ranging collection of testimonies to human affliction. When the pilgrims in the novel by Cervantes enter the church of Guadalupe, hoping "to find hanging on the walls as adornment, cloths of Tyrian purple, Syrian damasks, brocades from Milan, they found instead crutches left by cripples, wax eyes left by the blind, arms hung there by the armless, shrouds discarded by the dead, all after having fallen into the depths of despair, now alive, now healthy, now free, now happy, thanks to the great mercy of the Mother of all mercies...Such was the wonder these miraculous adornments struck in the hearts of the devout pilgrims, that they cast their eyes over all the church, and it seemed to them that they saw the captives come flying through the air, wrapped in their chains, to hang them on the holy walls, and the sick dragging their crutches, and the dead, their shrouds, looking for a place to put them, because there was no longer room in the sacred temple: so great is the amount that occupies the walls."

While it is usual to begin a description of a monastery with the church, this is normally one of the monastery buildings surrounding the cloister, which should be understood as the primary structure of monastic design, without which it is impossible to frame the whole. In Guadalupe we notice once again how the church and its various parts (sacristy, Lady chapel, reliquary, etc.) occupies the south side of the great cloister, which we could call Mudejar in its appearance and art and which, in the seventeenth century was called Los Milagros in reference to the miracles worked by the Virgin of Guadalupe and depicted in the paintings on the walls of its galleries. This same cloister was used for processions, as it has a door that communicates with the church, and Fray Francisco de Salamanca's screen was even moved (1743) to clear the way for the processions and be able to get from the sanctuary to the church more easily.

The cloister, which belongs to the first period of construction carried out by the prior Fray Fernando Yáñez, between 1389 and 1405, is also a key item in medieval Spanish architecture on account of its dimensions and its unique character. The masonry pillars and pointed horseshoe arches, both on the ground floor and on the upper storey, the decoration framing the arches, the actual planes of the arcades —which bring to mind the ablution courtyard of a mosque rather than a Western monastic cloister—, reveal their Islamic descent, which had precedents in the original church, which has now disappeared but of which the remains of the main apse are preserved, in an unmistakable brick-red mixture of Mudejar forms and techniques.

In the centre of the cloister garden, where the two axes cross, is a baldachin built in masonry and glazed ceramic, with an eclectic profile housing the famous fountain whose inscription declares it to be the work of Fray Juan de Sevilla (1405), while in the north-east corner is the large conventual *lavabo*, indicating the proximity of the large community refectory. This is the largest room in the monastery, and is today used as a museum of embroidery, a task at which the Hieronymite monks always excelled. The size of the refectory is a reminder of the large number of monks Münzer reports at the end of the fifteenth century: 140 friars, half of which had received holy orders and the

others were lay brothers. Next, while on the subject of food, this curious German adds that the monastery has "so many workmen, builders, shepherds and labourers, that each day, inside and outside the monastery, nine hundred people are fed".

Next to the refectory was the old chapter house which in 1415 was the setting for the first General Chapter of the Hieronymite Order. Later, in 1465, in view of the rising fortunes of the monastery, it was necessary to enlarge some of the rooms, and build the courtyard of La Mayordomía and the turreted pavilion next door for the new enlarged chapter house and library, while the old chapter house became the chapel of San Martín, as it is known today.

The second cloister in order of importance is that of La Enfermería or La Botica, as this is where the infirmary is, although it is also known as the Gothic Cloister on account of the traceries on the second storey of the three it has, although the ground floor still preserves Mudejar features. Begun around 1500, one side —known as Enfermerías Viejas in reference to the buildings replaced there— was never finished.

Many other important elements have been lost, some inexplicably, such as the Royal Hospice gratuitously destroyed in the nineteenth century. With it was lost the contribution made by the Catholic Monarchs to the monastic complex of Guadalupe, a palace in the Mudejar style of Toledo in which various master masons took part —amongst them Juan Guas— and which must have been completed in about 1490.

At one point in his description of Guadalupe, Münzer says openly, "I can not describe everything", as leaving aside the most unusual elements and going on to the most common, he met with a large number of tradesmen —cobblers, tailors, bakers, blacksmiths—, each one working in his workshop inside the monastery precinct "which you could take for a small city". Farther on, "two large and beautiful orchards, at the foot of the hill, where there are water channels to irrigate the citrons, oranges, myrtles, olives and other trees. The citrons were already ripe and offered an attractive sight amongst the green leaves". It was 10 January 1495.

SANTA MARÍA DE BELÉM. LISBON (PORTUGAL).

The humanist Pedro Meneses, in the opening lecture for the university year of 1504 in the University of Lisbon, said that the monastery of the Hieronymites in Belém, which was under construction at the time, would have no equal in the world nor in history: "*nenhuma casa, nenhum edifico dos reis espanhóis e franceses ou des Romanos, nem os Colossos, nem as Pirâmides, nem os Anfiteatros, nem as coisas quase fabulosas que se contam de Mênfis e Babilónia ainda que fossem verdadeiras, nem a casa e o Templo de Salomão, diferentes tanto nas suas dimensiões como na vastidão, se podem comparar con este novo cenóbio*".

Although it might seem like rhetorical hyperbole to exalt the figure of its founder King Manuel I of Portugal, it is no less true that the Hieronymite monastery of Santa María de Belém is a work of very particular significance in history and art. Discarding the links which traditional historiography established between the monastery of Belém and the overseas exploits of the Portuguese discoveries, in a move to make the monument an architectural act of thanksgiving, recent studies of the monastery have placed conjectures and their object in context.

Santa María de Belém stands some distance from Lisbon, in an area which has changed considerably now that it is dry land, though at one time, as we can see from old paintings and engravings, the sea came quite close to the walls of the monastery. Boats arrived at the nearby beach of Rastrello or Restelo, where first a chapel, then a parish church and finally the Hieronymite monastery gave shelter to pilgrims and sailors, like the characters in Cervantes's *Los trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda*: "The boat reached the shore of the city, and at that of Belém they disembarked because Auristela, who was devoutly in love with the fame of that holy monastery, wanted to visit it first and worship the true God there..."

The first we know for sure of the shrine and later Parish church is the papal bull *Inter Coetera* (1459), in which Pius II confirmed and approved the church dedicated to Santa María de Belém, promoting it to parish church with all its prerogatives and jurisdiction, annexing it to the military Order of Christ for the lifetime of Prince Henry the Navigator, who was to be its administrator. On this spot, King Manuel I, the same year of his coronation (1495), wanted to raise a monastery which had every appearance of becoming the dynastic pantheon of the new House of Aviz-Beja. This is mentioned in Pope Alexander VII's bull *Eximiae devotionis affectus* (1496), empowering the king, literally, to "over the chapel and former hermitage of the friars of the order of Christ found this Royal Monastery of Belém with a church, cloisters, and all the other necessary buildings, with the obligation of [saying] a daily mass for the soul of Prince Henry, the founder of this place, and for that of the said King Manuel, and of his successors, and grants furthermore that the monks who should live in this monastery may administer to sailors and pilgrims the sacrament of penitence, and absolve them in those cases that are not reserved for the Apostolic See, and also administer to them the Holy Sacrament of the Sacred Eucharist..."

This text is of extraordinary interest because the monastery appears with features that exceed what is usual in the monastic order as regards the dispensation of the sacraments of penitence and communion, which had always been reserved for the parish churches and later for the mendicant orders. But the monastery's relationship with the ever-dangerous world of sailors made it logical to consider Santa María de Belém in these terms. Knowing the contents of the bull, it is no surprise to find, along the north side of the church on to which the cloister is built, the confessionals hollowed out of the massive walls, with access for the sinner from the church and for the friar, from the cloister. How many seafaring men left their faults there in the face of an uncertain return?

Two years later, in 1498, King Manuel I decided to hand the foundation over to the Hieronymite Order of which he was a declared devotee, reminding them of the obligation of the masses and of attending to the locals and foreigners who reached the shore where so many boats anchored, administering to them not only the penitence and communion but *outros qaesquer Sacramentos*. From then on there was no end to the privileges and revenues with which the monastery was endowed by Manuel, who granted it a twentieth of all the taxes raised on the trade in spices and precious stones from the Indies, gold from Guinea and from the mines to be discovered in those far-off places.

All of this was endorsed in the king's generous will when, in 1517, he openly expressed his wish to be buried "in the monastery of Nostra Senhora de Belém, in the sanctuary before the high altar, at the foot of the steps and with no other tomb than a flat stone so that it can be walked on". The will contains many other points of interest, amongst them the number of one hundred monks which the king wanted the monastery to have and which explains the extraordinarily long dormitory which forms an unusual architectural wing at the western end of the church, with the cells for the monks. Philip II also established the number of Hieronymite monks at El Escorial at one hundred; in fact, there are a lot of things at Belém that are foreseen in Philip's monastery. There are differences in the form and the period, but there is a common backdrop which is no coincidence between this foundation by King Manuel of Portugal and Queen Mary, the second daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, and the monastery of Philip II, grandson of the Portuguese monarchs as son of Isabella of Portugal.

The king was unable to finish the work and in the same will he realised that there was still a lot to be done and explained that the generous income he was leaving from the "twentieth" on trade with the Indies was "to finish...the house in the way I have ordained and instructed it to be done". In this same sense, the account by Damián de Gois in his *Crónica do Felicísimo Rei D. Manuel* (1556)

leaves no room for doubt: "before he died he left a large part finished...there was still a lot needed to finish it with the perfection a work of this sort requires". Nevertheless, the king, who died in 1521, was able, one year earlier, to see the arrival of the group of "friars of the said Order of Saint Jerome of the Hermits under the rule of Saint Augustine". The prior, Fray Pedro and vicar, Fray Martinho, were accompanied by the monks Jerónimo, Juan, Bartolomé, Alfonso, Gonzalo and Álvaro, all from Penha-Longa, one of the few houses to materialise as part of an initial project for twelve monasteries of the Hieronymite Order in Portugal (1501).

The first stone was laid on 6 January 1502, the feast of the Epiphany, with the obvious intention of linking the ruling monarchy with the Biblical monarchy, making the monastery of Belém a new Bethlehem. It is generally accepted that the original project was by the French architect Boytac, until in 1516 he was succeeded by João de Castilho, who made important changes. The church, even from outside, reflects these two different hands, as the body of the church, the oldest part of the complex, shows that prodigious "Manueline" style which is associated with King Manuel in the same way as the "Isabelline style" is associated with Isabella the Catholic, with a clear family and formal relationship, going beyond the merely artistic to become a political image of the two crowns who were keen to maintain solid alliances and not just their influence overseas. On this point it is worth remembering that King Manuel married first the eldest daughter of Isabella the Catholic, also called Isabella, who was already the widow of the heir of King Alfonso's crown, the son of John II of Portugal. After Isabella's death he married a second time, to María, the second daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, and all of this at the same time as the undertaking of the Hieronymite monastery of Belém, which hides beneath its stones this complex world of matrimonial alliances.

The fact is that by the side of this graceful body of the church, with two excellent porches, one at the western end and one at the side, overflowing with imagination and poetry in their ornamental repertory, Castilho's sanctuary is a sombre and harsh reply with striking volumes. Both porches are excellent, even though the southern one has been much altered by nineteenth-century neo-Manueline additions, but the one at the western end of the church has a certain priority. It was made in 1517 by Nicolau Chanterene, with all the delicacy of late Gothic, full of fantasy and imagination, in which the figures of the king and queen stand out. A very significant account by the chronicler Damián Góis describes how "the king ordered his image to be put one one side [of the porch], kneeling, and raised up, in showy clothes [sic], and on the other side, also kneeling and raised up, Queen Mary his wife. These two images are worked in the round in "lioz" stone [local marble], and the two faces are taken very well from life". In other words, they could be taken as portraits of Manuel and María. The two, in an orant attitude, seem to join in the act of Adoration of the Birth of Jesus in Bethlehem crowning the porch, Manuel presented by Saint Jerome and Maria by the Baptist.

The interior of the church offers one of the most surprising images imaginable in the field of monastic architecture and reveals the truly exceptional nature of this foundation. It is out of the ordinary in a Hieronymite church as it has a nave and two side aisles and a strange transept with a chapel at either end, as well as the high chapel in the main axis of the church, reformed in 1565 by the architect Jerónimo Ruao. At the western end, inevitably, a raised choir was added which affects the nave and aisles. The columns separating them are extraordinarily slender, reaching the limit of thinness and height structurally required for the support of vaults which are practically the same height. I would even go so far as to say that the church seems to be covered by a single, immense vault, some twenty-five metres in height, which only occasionally touches the ground through delicate sticks. The general Gothicness of the ribs is joined by the decoration which in Spain would be called Plateresque, Renaissance, making up a truly delicate whole, with a surprising spatial transparency.

The cloister follows the same lines of originality and beauty, a faithful image of the new "Manueline" style. Over a square floor plan with chamfered corners, two levels were raised at different moments, as to the initial project by Boytasc was added the intervention of Castilho, who in 1517 appears as the master of the first cloister —that is, the ground floor—, on to which the chapter house, sacristy and refectory open, later adding a second storey, also vaulted, which led to the royal chambers, as the monks' cells are displaced in the dormitory mentioned above.

The work of the cloister was finished by Diego Torralva, appointed master of Belém in about 1540, who left a work which is a successful mixture of Gothic elements matured under the Portuguese sun with elements imported from Italy via Castile and probably France, in an unusual formula of great beauty. We must not forget that here, in Belém, the masters of the works were Portuguese, of course, but also Castilians, Biscayans, French and Flemish, giving rise to this eclectic and attractive image which has gone down in the history of art as "Manueline".

With the work well advanced, the monks in residence and mass being officiated since at least 1534, King John II moved the mortal remains of his parents to the church in fulfilment of their wishes. The new monarch never stopped adding to the monastery's riches, for example with the extraordinary Renaissance wooden seating designed by Diego Torralva in about 1550.

Having seen the church, one can not help being surprised at the length of the dormitory, which today has two levels but which distorts its original appearance after an unrepeatable history of plans, destruction, restoration, construction and successive collapses which accompanied the work when, after secularisation, the Obra Pía was moved here, a noble charitable institution dating from the eighteenth century which operated as a large orphanage. Whereas the church and cloister survived these actions relatively unscathed, although a mitred cupola was added to the church's small tower, this is not the case with the dormitory, which adjoins the church and communicated it with the church's raised choir. The fact is that dozens of projects transformed and impoverished what was once a magnificent portico with some twenty-eight arches, conceived as an open portico, the famous "alpendre" which appears in all the monastery documents, over which was built the dormitory facing the sea, on to which the cells of the Hieronymites gave. Everything was altered and the genuine Manueline elements disappeared, to be replaced, regrettably in this case, by supposedly "neo-Manueline" versions.

From the typological and monastic point of view, the presence of this cell building away from its natural location, which is the cloister, is also an exception, but it was absolutely impossible to distribute the one hundred cells around the cloister. Since earliest times, the dormitory at Belém has had its critics, such as Father Sigüenza, who in the second part of his *Historia de la Orden* wrote, "There is not more than one order of them [cells] and not more than a few windows: and because the building is so low, the result is poor, and the side facing the sea plain-looking and lacking in majesty and view, which is from not knowing how to build". Sigüenza said this in the days when the Hieronymites of Portugal and Spain, as the monarchy's monastic order, were going through a transitory period of unity under Philip I. He was writing in El Escorial, whose monastery was conceived as a closed volumetric unit very different from the open character of the plans for Belém, so that we should not be surprised by his criticism, which extends to the church he finds fragile by the side of the massive character of Herrera's work. In spite of everything, the monastery of Belém is still one of the most beautiful works of European monastic architecture, and its inclusion in these pages through the Hieronymites is intended to re-establish the interior links that connected the architecture of a particular religious order over and above borders and political events.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Page XI. Plan of a monastery from the Carolingian period. Abbey of Saint Gall (Switzerland). Cod. Sang. 1092.

SAN JUAN DE LA PEÑA

14. The large cliff that gives the monastery its name offers its bulk as a covering for the cloister. In the background the Chapel of Santos Voto y Félix, the first hermits who, along with Juan de Atarés, inhabited this area.

17. The Chapel of San Victorián (1426-1433), also known as the abbots' pantheon, provides an admirable view over the landscape opposite the monastery.

18-19. The triple chevet of the upper church is open, revealing the blind arches which decorate the walls. The three apses are covered with a quarter-sphere vault, unlike the rest of the church, which shelters partly under the living rock.

20-21. The collection of 12th-century and early 13th-century single, double and quadruple capitals in the Romanesque cloister offers a rich iconography. Isolated animals, like the horse and saddle (left), or scenes like that of Cain slaying Abel (right), fit naturally on to the capitals.

22-23. In the shelter of the cliff, the monastery complex consists of, from right to left, the Chapel of Santos Voto y Félix, the Romanesque cloister, the body of the lower and upper churches, one above the other, and the area of the old and new monastery.

SANTO DOMINGO DE SILOS

24. A battlemented and turreted medieval wall protects the monastery with all its buildings, including a large area of enclosed orchards and vegetable gardens. This entrance on the north-east side frames the chapel of Santo Domingo.

26-27. The building work carried out in the 18th century conceals the monastery's Romanesque origins. The opaque image of the church with its Neoclassical tower, the sacristy and reliquary, the body of the chapel of Santo Domingo over the former chapter house and other adjoining structures (left) contrast with the porosity of the Romanesque cloister (right) immediately behind them.

28 (left). Amongst the reliefs inside the cloister can be seen the *Disciples of Emmaus*, by the so-called "first master" of Silos, who worked at the end of the 11th century. The treatment of the heads stands out, with their careful beards and penetrating gaze.

28 (right). We owe the relief of the *Ascension*, of which the top is shown here, to the first, anonymous master of Silos. The head of Christ, picked out with a cruciform nimbus, emerges above the wavy clouds which seem to extend from the angels.

29. In the lower gallery of the west side of the cloister is the capital of the *Lions Entangled in Plants*, attributed to the first master of Silos. Carved in two planes, the motifs are distributed axially around a wavy line.

30-31. The presence of large reliefs in the inner corners of the cloister, like "stations", is a highly original feature. We owe the restrained and ordered relief scenes of the *Descent* and the *Burial of Christ* (left) to the first master of Silos, while the *Annunciation* and the *Tree of Jesse* (right) are slightly later.

32. The first chapter house opened off the west gallery of the cloister but was reformed in the 15th and 18th centuries when the chapel of Santo Domingo was built over it. The entrance and the two twin openings flanking it still survive.

33. The Puerta de las Vírgenes communicated the former Romanesque church with the cloister. The arch is surprising on account of its horse-shoe shape, and our attention is drawn by the pillars with helical decoration flanking it.

34. In the north wall of the cloister, before an opening filled in with elements from the old Romanesque church, is the burial slab on lions which indicates the place where Saint Dominic of Silos was originally buried.

35. The new church designed by Ventura Rodríguez between 1750 and 1751 was built over the earlier Romanesque church. This marked the introduction to Silos of the sober Neoclassicism exhibited in its sturdy pillars and vaults.

36-37. The bitter winters of the valley of Tabladillo, whose name appears in documents from Silos as early as the 10th century, almost 1,000 metres above sea level, make snow a common visitor to Silos.

SAN ESTEBAN DE RIBAS DE SIL (ORENSE)

38. In the late Middle Ages, the length of the banks of the River Sil, from Amandi to Los Peares, was a Thebaid of monasteries known as "Rivoira" or "Ribera Sacrata" (Otero Pedrayo).

40. The enlargement in the 16th century of the original nucleus of the monastery disguises the medieval character of the church, to which was later added a new crown. This façade forms an attractive courtyard with that of the monastery, which dates from about 1700.

41. Behind the hospice stands the large gatehouse cloister, on which the Biscayan master Diego de Isla worked between 1577 and 1599. Its three storeys and the different styles of the galleries give the cloister a remarkable character.

42. From the Romanesque period until the Baroque, successive enlargements left their stylistic imprint on the monastery, as in the case of the

upper galleries of the processional cloister, added at the beginning of the 16th century.

43. The series of cloisters at Ribas de Sil offer an imaginative sample of compositional and building styles of unquestionable charm, such as those of the lesser cloister, built in the last third of the 16th century.

44-45. The monastery's oldest cloister is the processional cloister, of unquestionable Romanesque descent. It is made up of a series of three semicircular arches on double columns, interspersed with sturdy pilasters to make the construction more solid.

46. The passage to the interior garden of the processional cloister from the galleries goes under the central arch of one of a series of three arches with which the four sides of the cloister are organised.

47. The exterior elevations of the processional cloister, also known as the cloister of Los Obispos, after the bishops who entered monastic life on giving up the mitre and who are buried here, reveal the Romanesque work and the Gothic over-cloister added in about 1506.

48. The enlargement and construction of new cloisters also called for a new staircase which was built in the Baroque period. Its builders showed off their profound understanding of the stereotomy of stone.

49. The large number of Benedictine monks the monastery came to house, the increased guest accommodation and the fact that it housed the College of Art and Philosophy called for larger community facilities, such as the new monastic kitchens.

SANTA MARIA DE POBLET (TARRAGONA)

50. The nucleus of the monastery was protected in the 14th century with a wall which stands out for the Puerta Real between the two powerful prism-shaped towers, which are followed by the Torre del Prior. The crossing of Abbot Guimerà (16th c.) completes the scene.

54. Between the fortified wall and the apses of the church is the monks' cemetery, with a series of graves belonging to the Catalan nobility (Cervera, Moncada, Queralt and Anglesola, amongst others) set into the wall.

57. Leaving the main precinct, we cross another surrounding the previous one, with the Puerta Dorada (15th c.). It gets its name from the gilding applied to the bronze panels of its leaves when Philip II visited the monastery in 1564.

59. In the cloister opposite the refectory is the canopy housing the *lavabo* or fountain with 31 spouts, known as "Luna", where the monks wash and purify themselves before sitting down to their sparse meals.

61. West gallery of the cloister with the graves on the wall of several families who favoured the monastery in the 13th and 14th centuries (Ribelles, Anglesola, Boixadors, Timor, Cervera, Montpalau and Montpahó). In the background, the lay brothers' visiting room.

62-63. Vaults of the old lay brothers' dormitory, converted as a store room in the 16th century by Abbot Guimerà.

64. Burial stones of the abbots of Poblet in the floor of the chapter house. The effigies are looking towards the seat of the abbot presiding the chapter. The oldest, that of Abbot Alferich, dates from 1311.

65. Next to the fathers' refectory is the monumental 13th-century kitchen. The monks in charge of it had their rooms in this part of the monastery.

66 (left). Interior of the chapter house, with the Gothic vaulting, of very simple construction and extreme ornamental sobriety. The capitals ring the octagonal prism of the shaft, forming the springing point for the eight ribs that help to form the vault.

66 (right). The vaults of the old grain stores are even more restrained and elemental. In the course of time they have been converted as a library, a function they retain today. The centrally supported double bay in turn supports the modern-day monks' dormitory.

67. The fathers' refectory is a large hall with a pointed barrel vault on projecting arches. It measures slightly more than 34 metres in length by 8 metres in width. In the centre is a dish for serving the tables, which are presided by the abbot's table at the top.

68-69. The church sanctuary is presided by an altarpiece commissioned from the sculptor Damián Forment in 1527, when Pedro Caixal was abbot. It is worked in alabaster and fortunately preserved in situ.

70. Romanesque entrance to the church at its western end, open to the atrium or "galilee", after returning the rich tympanum to its place beneath the archivolts.

71. The nave of the church seen from the presbytery, with pointed barrel vault on ribbed arches. In the 14th and 15th centuries the royal graves of James I and Peter IV, amongst others, were placed in the transept on broad surbased arches.

72-73."A peaceful and happy spot, because in all the countryside around the trees keep the green of their leaves all the year round, their luxuriance is an agreeable object to the eye" (Finestres, 1753).

SANTA MARÍA DE HUERTA (SORIA)

74. Overlooking the valley of the River Jalón is the Cistercian monastery of Santa María, with the enclosed grounds and the village originally formed by people in the service of the monastery.

77. The chevet of the church, in which can be noted the absence of any type of decoration, giving rise to a rugged, naked architecture which answers only to constructional requirements.

78. Main entrance to the monastery complex. To the lower part, built in the 16th century and crowned by a pediment, was added in 1785 the Baroque top. The relief of the vase of white lilies is a reference to the Virgin Mary, to whom the monastery is dedicated.

79. Façade of the church with a Cistercian entrance with the characteristic outline and archivolt decoration. Above is the large rose-window which illuminates the nave, almost entirely rebuilt during the restoration of 1964.

80. Exterior elevation of the so-called Gothic cloister, of which only the ground floor is in this style. In the first half of the 16th century another storey was added in the Plateresque style, with unusual surbased arches and an excellent collection of medallions.

81. The cloister has always been linked to a funerary function, with frequent burials in its walls.

This is the case here with that of Pedro Manrique, on the left, and that of the Count and Countess of Molina, next to the entrance to the church.

82. Keystone of the third vault of the refectory, in which the three ribs forming the sexpartite vaults cross.

83. In the gallery running along the north wall of the church, with the grave of the Molina family at the end, the arches overlooking the garden were closed off as protection from the bitter winter cold. This deprives all the lower corridors of light inside.

84-85. The Gothic cloister, better know as the cloister of Los Caballeros, acts as a large atrium for the monumental refectory overlooking it.

86. Remains of mural painting (13th c.?) in the chapel of La Magdalena, in the chevet of the church, discovered during the last restoration work. At the bottom can be seen the meeting of Christ resuscitated with Mary Magdalene.

87. The top of the refectory roofed with sexpartite vaults which spring from suspended colonettes. On the right, the pulpit for readings, reached by a staircase hollowed out in the wall.

88. View of the interior of the church from the south transept, showing the rugged construction and the abstinence of decoration, which is reduced to elemental lines of imposts.

89. In the 16th century the choir was moved from the central nave to its present position on a vault at the feet of the church, while the organ was placed in the same area. On the right, the console above the old choir stalls.

LAS HUELGAS DE BURGOS

90. Entrance arch opened in the old wall starting from the body of the church, on the right, leaving the bell tower visible in the background. Today it separates the inner and outer courtyards.

92. High chapel and transept of the church, on the left, and the chapel of San Juan or Los Clérigos, on the right, seen from the gardens.

93. The Romanesque cloister known as Las Claustrillas forms part of the oldest nucleus of the monastery (*c.* 1200), where Cistercian decorative sobriety is manifest.

94. The chapel of Santiago, near Las Claustrillas, was once a room in the palace of Alfonso VIII, dominated by forms of Al-Andalus origin, such as the horseshoe arch with decorated surround, or the ceiling and plaster work in its interior.

95. The grave of the *infante* Fernando de la Cerda, eldest son of King Alfonso X the Wise, is located in the Gospel aisle, or aisle of Santa Catalina, beneath an arcosolia and crowned by an elegant gable with the arms of Castile and Leon.

96. Main doorway of the church in the south transept, with elegant leaf decoration on the tympanum accompanying the shield of Castile.

97. In the atrium of the church are two Gothic graves with decorated fronts. One is particularly interesting, with a fanciful architectural composition on the lid, with columns against which are set figures of angels and apostles.

98. The large cloister of San Fernando, with the entrance to the chapter house where bases and capitals were left unworked, emphasizing the austere look of the architecture.

99. Access from the church to the cloister of San Fernando is through a door very much like that of the atrium, in the north transept. The profuse decoration extends to the vault, emphasizing the corners of the cloister.

100. View of the church from the "ladies'" choir towards the western end of the building. In the centre, the graves of the founders, Alfonso VIII of Castile and Eleonor of England, both deceased in 1214.

101. The aisles of the church are covered with delicate quadripartite vaults of French influence, except for the transept, where an octopartite vault was built, and the chevet, where an old-fashioned sexpartite vault was built.

102. The nuns' choir is closed off by a screen forming a reliquary-baldachin-altarpiece (16th c.), in the centre of which a door allows a view of the Eucharistic celebration taking place in the presbytery.

103. Over the grave of the *infante* Fernando de la Cerda, a *Crucifixion* in stone dating from about 1300 and following French Gothic models was placed on the tympanum of the arcosolia.

104-105. The chapel of La Asunción was originally part of the palace of Alfonso VIII. It contains a mixture of early Almohad decoration (in the background) and Romanesque elements added when it was used as a chapel.

106 (top left). The front of the "ladies'" choir is decorated with large 16th-century panels, from the time of Charles V, with representations of Roman emperors.

106 (top right, and bottom). Details of the Moorish plaster work decorating the pointed barrel vault of the cloister of San Fernando, by the Andalusian craftsmen who worked in Las Huelgas between 1230 and 1260.

107 (top). Grave of Alfonso de la Cerda, who died in 1333, in the Gospel or Santa Catalina aisle. In the midst of a pattern of loops are lions and castles against a background strewn with fleurs-de-lis, as he was also the grandson of the king of France.

107 (bottom). In the nuns' choir, near the graves of the founders, are buried other female members of the royal family such as Berenguela, the mother of Saint Ferdinand III, and Berenguela, daughter of the saint king. This scene from the Epiphany comes from her grave.

CARTHUSIAN MONASTERY OF MIRAFLORES. BURGOS

108. Saint Bruno with the crucifix in his hand, the work of the Portuguese sculptor established in Spain, Manuel Pereira, a wood carving from about 1635 made for Cardinal Zapata.

112. General view of the high altarpiece of the church, the work of the sculptor of Flemish origin, Gil de Siloe, done between 1496 and 1499. The composition seems to be inspired in the German "rosaries" based on circles.

114. Figure of the Apostle Saint James, represented as a pilgrim, and Queen Isabella the Catholic kneeling at a prie-dieu, from the high altarpiece, whose rich polychrome decoration is the work of Diego de la Cruz.

115. General view of the single-naved church, from the back of the fathers' choir, in the cen-

tre of which can be seen the lectern for the songbooks. In the background, before the altarpiece, the free-standing royal tomb.

116. The seating in the fathers' choir is an excellent piece of cabinetwork by Martín Sánchez of Valladolid, who finished it in 1489. The backs and canopies have highly refined tracery characteristic of late Gothic.

117. Gil de Siloe carved the star-shaped free-standing grave of the Castilian ruler John II and his second wife, Isabella of Portugal, in alabaster. The work was contracted in 1485 and was finished by 1493.

118. The naturalistic style of Germano-Flemish descent that characterises the art of Gil de Siloe can be seen in these scenes from the altarpiece depicting the Last Supper (top) and the Epiphany (bottom).

119. Next to the royal tomb is that of the *infante* Alfonso, son of Henry II. The *infante* appears in orant position beneath a large ogee arch opened in the north wall of the church, with a striking architectural and decorative effect. Completed in 1493.

120-121. The vaults over the first sections of the church —i.e. those covering the presbytery and the royal graves— are richly decorated with festoons along the ribs. The principal keystone stands out, with the polychrome shield of the Crown of Castile.

122. Corridor of the main cloister on to which the cells open. The sober restraint of the architecture can be seen, without the decoration which characterises the church.

123. Although the Carthusians usually eat alone in their cells, on Sundays they eat in the refectory and on this day "to the vegetables or pulses is added cheese or some similar allowance, and before supper, fruit or salad, if there is any" (*Consuetudines Cartusiae*, chap. 33).

SANTA MARÍA DE EL PAULAR (MADRID)

124. South side of the church from the original cloister, completed in 1400, very probably related to the original palace buildings of the Trastámara family in El Paular.

127. Great cloister built between 1484 and 1486 by the architect Juan Guas. In the centre, the monumental baldachin at the crossing of the two main axes of the cloister also houses a fountain. On the sides, a sundial and moondial.

128 (left). The elemental architecture of the small courtyard speaks for the simple original character of this construction, which could well have belonged to the "palaces called El Paular close to Rascafría and in the place of Lozoya...", as can be read in a privilege by John II.

128 (right). Gallery with barrel vault which divides the church courtyard and separates the monastic area from the early constructions of El Paular.

129. Passage with highly original covering in brickwork and stone, with trough outline.

130. Interior of one of the galleries of the great cloister, on to which the doors of the cells open, with the revolving hatch through which the monks' food is passed.

131. Ogee outline of the vaults of the great cloister, whose stone ribs spring from corbels forming part of a general impost now lost. The brickwork was originally rendered.

132. Entrance to the church from the covered atrium. The work dates from the second half of the 15th century and the style is Isabelline with Flemish influence, both in the sculptures and in the scene of the *Pietá* painted on the tympanum.

133. Refectory presided by a Gothic *Crucifixion* which must have been placed here in the 17th century when the background landscape was painted. Simple Gothic architecture not without its pulpit for the reader, worked in plaster by Abderraman of Segovia.

134. Tabernacle (left), a masterpiece of 18th-century Spanish Baroque art, which as the *Sanctum Sanctorum* is located beyond the sanctuary of the church. Detail from the Tabernacle (right) with the figure of Saint Peter, carved by the Sevillan sculptor Pedro Duque Cornejo.

135. The Tabernacle seen from the chapel of El Sagrario, where the Carthusians worship the Eucharist in total seclusion, under the gaze of Saint Bruno and other saints of the order represented in sculptures.

136. Part of the floor of the Tabernacle with floral motifs worked in marble of different colours.

137. One of the altarpieces forming part of the rich perimeter of the chapel of El Sagrario, where the Solomonic columns, the pedestals and the rich floral inventiveness show it belongs to the 18th century.

138. Interior of the church from the area set aside for guests, separated from the rest by a railing by the Carthusian Francisco de Salamanca (1492).

139. High altarpiece in polychrome alabaster, in a Gothic-Flemish style (15th c.), with scenes from the Life of Christ and the image of the titular of the Charterhouse: Santa María de El Paular. The two side doors lead to the original sanctuary.

140-141. The Charterhouse is in the valley of the River Lozoya, which feeds its ponds and reservoirs for watering and making paper, in the heart of the Guadarrama range, at a height of more than 1,100 metres.

CARTHUSIAN MONASTERY OF GRANADA

142. The main entrance to the monastery is via a Plateresque doorway which is attributed to the architect Juan García de Pradas at the beginning of the 16th century. In the background, the entrance to the church.

145. The lesser cloister off which the communal buildings open is located on the south side of the church, with which it communicates via the door in the background, which was only used by the monks or fathers. A Renaissance work, it was completed in the 17th century.

146. Amongst the buildings opening on to the lesser cloister is the monks' chapter house, covered with a vault in the Gothic tradition but with deviations characteristic of the 16th century.

147. The groin vaults of the church carry a profuse stucco decoration begun in 1662 and in line with the predominant Baroque spirit of the Granadine Charterhouse.

148. The top of the church is decorated with sightly stucco frames containing pictures with scenes from the Life of the Virgin by the Granadine

Bocanegra. These alternate with niches containing images also done in plaster.

149. The "De Profundis" room in the lesser cloister is presided by an imitation altarpiece in the El Escorial style, but made between 1612 and 1627 by the Carthusian and painter Juan Sánchez Cotán, who also painted the canvas of *Saint Peter and Saint Paul.*

150. Altar-baldachin in the presbytery of the church, designed by Hurtado Izquierdo (1710), and the *Assumption* carved by José de Mora. The open architecture is conceived to allow a view of the adjoining sanctuary, a very characteristic effect of Baroque transparency.

151. The stucco of the presbytery, consisting of niches, strings of fruit and little angels, has a special chromatic treatment. There is inevitably a reference to Saint Bruno, with the habit of the Order, and at his feet can be read "Patriarca".

SANTA MARÍA LA REAL. AGUILAR DE CAMPOO (PALENCIA)

152. An original solution in the façade-bell gable of the Premonstratensian church.

156-157. Two views of the monastery dominated by the same rocky cliff. On the left, the wing with the store room (12th c.) and the new upper storey for the cells (17th c.). On the right, the 18th-century enlargement with the new cells.

158-159. General view of the lower cloister (left) and the refectory gallery. Ribbed Gothic vaults grew above the Romanesque design of the cloister.

160. The collection of Romanesque capitals from the cloister was once outstanding. Moved to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid in the 19th century, very few have been preserved in situ.

161. General view of the cloister where the upper storey, added in the 18th century, is carefully aligned with the axes and composition of the medieval part.

162-163. The nave and aisles of the church with Romanesque pillars and quadripartite vaults (left) and enlargement of the transept and new Gothic sanctuary from the beginning of the 13th century (right), seen from the presbytery.

164. The west doorway of the church shows clearly Romanesque lines, with semi-circular arches and archivolts (left), and a doorway to the cloister, early Gothic to judge from the form of the arches, though continuing the Romanesque splaying that marks the columns.

165. The mixture of Romanesque and Gothic construction is a common denominator throughout the monastery.

166. Fragmentary remains of the graves that subsist in Aguilar after decades of plundering and neglect.

167. The chapter house is one of the monastery buildings that has come down to us best preserved. It has six vaulted sections supported on two free-standing pillars (13th c.).

168. Water channelling inside the monastery.

169. "One should care for life in such a way that life remains after death" (Unamuno, *Andanzas y visiones españolas*, 1921).

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA VID (BURGOS)

170. South side of the church at nightfall.

172-173. Monastery courtyard formed by the bell tower-façade of the church and the front of the monastery area (17th c.), with the doorway by the master mason Díaz de Palacios.

174-175. Interior of the 16th-century lower cloister, with an original system of closure using Baroque lattice-work, "with a view to the convenience and shelter of the matins and the residents of the convent...".

177. The Romanesque entrance and bays of the chapter house are the earliest testimony to the first stage of the monastery building (12th c.).

178. The old Romanesque cloister gave way to a new Gothic work, as the 16th-century ribbed vaults show. In the foreground, on the left, the access to the Escalera Real.

179. Overall view of the 16th-century cloister, to which a further, Neoclassical storey was added in the 18th century. In the background, the large dome over the high altar of the church, balanced by flying buttresses.

180. Interior of the church seen from the western end, beneath the vault of the raised choir. The late 16th-century screen separates the public area of the church from the private area of the pantheon and chapel of the Zúñiga family.

181. High chapel and star-shaped dome on to which the nave and aisles of the church open. Begun in 1522, it was not finished until 1572, Pedro Rasines having intervened in the work.

182. Santa María de la Vid, Gothic image in wood from about 1300, part of the high altarpiece. The image was repainted and set in the mirrored niche in the 18th century.

183. Detail of the façade of the monastery church.

SAN JUAN DE LOS REYES. TOLEDO

184. Overall view of the monastery from the left bank of the Tagus. In the foreground, the Baño de la Cava and behind it the defensive wall leading down to the river, the walls of the Jewish quarter and the city's defences.

187. North doorway of the church.

188. The church of San Juan de los Reyes, in the heart of Toledo's Jewish quarter, seen from the Puente de San Martín.

190. The knights who, in their permanent defensive attitude, bring to life the east end of the church.

192. Cloister designed by Juan Guas, with tracery on the bottom floor by Simón de Colonia, completed by Arturo Mélida in the 19th century.

193. Corridor of the processional cloister covered with fancifully designed ribbed vaults.

194. Octagonal dome over the transept crossing in the church, with a star-shaped vault very characteristic of the 15th century. The lights, today practically closed, would have given a spectacular illumination to this part of the church.

195. Interior of the church seen from the western end. Two galleries for the musicians, like elevated pulpits, indicate the greater importance of the transept area.

196 (left). Richly decorated gallery in the transept, with the "Y" and the "F" of Isabella and Ferdinand picked out, in reference to the founding monarchs of the monastery.

196 (right). Detail from the original decoration conceived by Guas, in which Mozarabic friezes characteristic of the Mudejar world appear alongside Gothic elements.

197. The raised choir at the western end of the church characterises the Spanish conventual churches of the time of the Catholic Monarchs. On the left, a raised gallery for the organ, now lost.

198 (left). The lower cloister has a rich and original sculptural accompaniment with figures of saints, most of which were restored or replaced by the architect and sculptor Arturo Mélida in the 19th century.

198 (right). Alabaster item over one of the doors of the monastery, showing the royal family dressed in the Franciscan habit praying at the feet of Christ, accompanied by Saint Francis.

199. Detail of the wooden ceiling in the upper cloister, in a Mudejar style but done "ex novo" by Arturo Mélida in about 1888.

SANTA MARIA DE PEDRALBES. BARCELONA

200. Bell tower of the monastery and exterior buttresses of the church begun in 1327.

202-203. Cloister on the north side of the church, with the two 14th-century galleries and a third wing added in the following century.

205. The cloister arches are supported on fine, tensed nummulitic columns, carved in series in the workshops of Girona.

206. Interior of one of the wide corridors on the ground floor of the cloister.

207 (left). In the north-east wing of the cloister is a series of tombs like that of Elionor de Pinós Montcada (14th c.) with a raised stone coffin decorated with the shield of the nobility against a painted background, in an elegant architectural composition.

208. Interior of the refectory with pointed barrel vault on projecting arches (14th c.).

209. Interior elevation of the church with the chapels between the buttresses.

210. Detail of the grave of Elisenda de Montcada, founder of the monastery, on the side of the church where she is dressed in royal clothes and insignia, while in her corresponding claustral burial she is wearing the habit of the order.

211. Polychrome keystone of the vault over the presbytery of the church with the Coronation of the Virgin.

212 (left). In one of the chapels in the church is this 14th-century burial of a lady who appears on the lid and of a man and another woman located on the side, possible members of the aristocratic Illa y Canet family.

212 (right). Gothic fresco (14th c.) with the Crucifixion accompanied by the Three Marys and several saints, at present in the Sala de la Reina.

213. The Virgin of the Chapter, a 15th-century polychrome terracotta image presiding the chapter house. The background of the sculpture imitates a tapestry held by angels, also painted in the 15th century.

214. Mural paintings by Ferrer Bassa in the chapel of San Miguel in the cloister, dating from 1343.

215. Chapel of San Miguel. Scene of Saint Peter cutting off Malchus's ear, in a style very close to Gothic.

SANTO DOMINGO. VALENCIA

216. Processional cloister —or cloister of El Silencio— in the Dominican convent of Santo Tomás. Ávila.

219. The exuberant cloister garden seen from the interior.

220. Gothic cloister begun in about 1300, to which in the 18th century was added an upper floor in a classicist architectural style.

223. The east gallery of the great cloister was the only one ever completed with 14th- and 15th century mullions and traceries. In the background the passage from the sacristy to the former conventual church.

224. In the small arcaded atrium at the entrance to the convent, which once led to the demolished church, is the Gothic door to the Chapel of Los Reyes (15th c.). The tympanum bears the coats of arms of the rulers of Aragon, Sicily and Jerusalem.

225. Former conventual refectory. The construction, Gothic in appearance, was begun in 1560. Since 1966 it has been used as the throne room of the Captaincy General.

226. Vaults in the chapter house on slender pillars and stone ribs. The brickwork was originally rendered (14th c.).

227. The vaults of the chapel of Los Reyes, with their bold, clean stereotomy, are a landmark in the history of building with stone (15th c.). They are associated with master masons like Baldomar, Compte and Navarro.

228. Altarpiece in the chapel of Los Reyes, dedicated to Our Lady of Hope. Reliefs by Juan Muñoz and paintings attributed to Juan de Sariñena complete this 16th-century work.

229. The chapel of Los Reyes, begun in 1439 by Alfonso III of Valencia and V of Aragon and conceived as a royal funerary chapel, eventually became the funerary chapel of the Marquises of Cenete, whose coffin was carved by the Italians Orsolino and Carlone (1563).

230. On the east side of the cloister is the chapter house, followed by the chapels of La Virgen de la Escala, San Pedro y San Pablo and Santos Vicente y Jaime. In the background, the passage to the "De Profundis" room.

231. Lighting in the chapter house was ensured both by the large windows in the front and by the generous openings on to the courtyard, in the entrance of which the mullion has been eliminated, leaving the key of its daring tracery hanging.

232-233. General view of the convent of Santo Domingo, with the Renaissance doorway, Baroque tower and the new Captaincy General building. Since 1835 the medieval foundation has served the same purpose as the last of these.

SANTO TOMÁS. ÁVILA

234. Atrium of the convent, formed by the façade of the church and the gatehouse and noviciate block.

238. Cloister of Los Reyes corresponding to the area occupied by the palace of the Catholic Monarchs. In the background, the chancel of the church, with which the palace communicates.

239. Processional cloister —El Silencio—, with cheerful, open architecture, in which pillars and arches are adorned with the small balls so frequently repeated in the time of the Catholic Monarchs.

240. General view of the processional cloister with the *lavabo* in one of the corners. On the right, crowning the walls of the church, the bell gable which in many monasteries and convents takes the place of the bell tower.

241. Detail of one of the galleries of the processional cloister with the insistent decoration of balls or Isabelline pearls. In the centre of each of these corridors the small pillars supporting the arches turn in a helical movement.

242. Staircase of the processional cloister leading up to the choir of the church.

243. Part of the choir with one of the two royal seats, discreetly separated from the rest of the conventual seating and made expressly for Isabella and Ferdinand.

244. The severe looking processional cloister — known as the cloister of El Silencio—, with its ribbed vaulting. In the background the passage to the staircase leading to the raised choir in the church.

245. Interior of the church designed by Martín de Solórzano. In the background the altar and high altarpiece by Pedro Berruguete raised on a vault to increase its visibility from the choir.

246. Corbel in one of the corners of the cloister of El Silencio, with the characteristic decoration of balls and the emblem of the Catholic Monarchs. the yoke and arrows.

247. Part of the conventual seating, with a variety of delicate ornamentation on the back and magnificent canopies, attributed to the master Martín Sánchez (1492).

248-249. Grave of the *infante* Juan, son of the Catholic Monarchs, the work of the Florentine Domenico Fancelli, who carved it in marble and brought it from Genoa (1512).

SAN ESTEBAN. SALAMANCA

250. Main façade of the conventual church designed by Juan de Álava (1524). The large arch covers the Plateresque doorway which is arranged as an altarpiece, with lanes and wings containing figures of saints and reliefs.

254-255. The convent of San Esteban, with the church, the gatehouse porch by Juan de Ribero (1590) and the library added above it in 1683.

256. Cloister of Los Reyes or Las Processiones, designed by the Dominican Fray Martín de Santiago and completed in 1544. Years later, the overcloister was added, communicating the cells with the choir of the church.

257. The "De Profundis" room (1492), also called Sala de Colón, is one of the oldest parts of the convent. It belongs to the medieval constructions demolished to raise the new building in the 16th century.

258. Corner of the cloister of Los Reyes with the doorway of San Pedro de Verona, the first Dominican martyr, who appears at the top of the Renaissance door, added in the 17th century by Francisco de la Oya.

259. Staircase completed in 1556 and named after Domingo de Soto (16th c.), as the cost of the work was covered by the sale of writings by this famous Dominican theologist who was Charles V's confessor.

260. Vault of the lower galleries of the cloister of Los Reyes, very characteristic of the first half of the 16th century in its outline, geometry and the mass of ribs and keystones.

261. Nave of the church. The vaults, directed by Juan de Álava and Fray Martín de Santiago, incorporate secondary ribs and ties giving continuity to the general vaulting as opposed to the traditional system of independent sections.

262. Over the head of the raised choir, Antonio Palomino painted the monumental fresco *Triumph of the Dominican Order*, signed and dated in 1705. Its Baroque composition has antecedents in Rubens.

263. Interior of the sacristy paid for by the Dominican Pedro de Herrera, Bishop of the Canaries and Tuy, but also conceived as his own burial place. In a post-El Escorial style, it was completed in about 1634 by the master masons Juan Moreno and Alfonso Sardiña.

264. Transept and presbytery of the church with the three altarpieces commissioned from José Churriguera by the prior Fray Gonzalo Mateos in 1692.

265. Body of the dome over the church transept in which Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón intervened. Gothic forms give way to Renaissance motifs and mouldings.

266. View of the church from the entrance to the church beneath the choir. This arrangement in monastic and conventual churches, begun in the 15th century, was maintained throughout the 16th century and served as a precedent to the monastery of El Escorial and its famous flat vault.

267. Other less well known buildings in the convent, such as the old cloister of Los Aljibes, named after the cisterns under the floor to collect the rainwater, belong to the oldest parts of San Esteban, prior to the 16th-century work.

EL PARRAL. SEGOVIA

268. The monastery complex from the new gardens and pond.

270. Upper galleries of the cloister of La Enfermería, with ogee arches, one of which looks out over the farmland.

273. East end of the church with the sturdy buttresses which take the thrust of the ribbed vaults inside.

274. Cloister of La Portería, with simple Gothic architecture, allowing a view beneath its arches of the belfry and the bell gable built by Juan Campero in 1529 in a Renaissance style.

275. Interior of the corridors of the upper floor of the main cloister.

276-277. Top of the tower of the church, where the eye of the bell gable allows a view of the distant Cathedral of Segovia.

278. Interior of the refectory from the prior's table, covered with a filigree painted ceiling in three sections. On the left, the pulpit for the readings, in wood, richly decorated with Gothic forms.

279 (top). The main cloister, also known as the cloister of Los Difuntos, has a series of arches in its north wing which correspond to the chapel of San Miguel, the Callejón de la Procesión which opens off the church here, and the chapels of Arados and San Miguel.

279 (bottom). Detail of the arches in the sacristy, from around 1500, which shelter the drawers and cabinets for the holy vessels and linen, in a typically Spanish solution.

280 (left). The door communicating the sacristy with the ante-sacristy, over whose entrance an interesting polychrome image of Saint Jerome from the end of the 15th century was placed.

280 (right). Vaults of the church. The two in the background correspond to the raised choir which is accompanied by two projecting galleries, one of which would have been for the organ.

281. Entrance to the chapel of La Asunción, from the end of the 15th century, and blind ogee arch with burial stones in slate of Beatriz Álvarez and Gonzalo del Rio, who died in 1480.

282. Large triptych in the sanctuary of the church, formed by the high altarpiece (1528-1553) and the monumental tombs in alabaster of the Marquises de Villena, Juan López Pacheco and María de Portocarrero, carved at about the same time.

283. South transept of the church with the passage leading to the sacristy. The doorway is one of the most extraordinary examples of the art of Juan Guas, who worked on the monastery around 1475.

284-285. "He found —to establish the monastery— an admirable place for the purpose, on the bank of the river the locals call Eresma, slightly raised on the side of a hill, sheltered by it and by some cliffs from the cold north winds..." (P. Sigüenza).

YUSTE

286. Close to Cuacos de Yuste (Cáceres) on one of the slopes of the last foothills of the Tormantos range, stands the Hieronymite monastery.

288. Emperor Charles V's retirement to Yuste called for the construction of new quarters, giving rise to a new palace in the south of the monastery.

289. Of the monastery's two cloisters —the 15th-century or "old" cloister and the 16th-century cloister—, the latter offers a Plateresque aspect. Paid for by the Count of Oropesa, it was completed around 1554.

290. The main and only floor of the palace stands partly on a low arched vestibule with stone columns and vaults whose brickwork has now been left visible.

291. Upper gallery of the Plateresque cloister with the doors of the cells. Order, austerity and silence.

292. Charles V's bedroom next to the presbytery of the church so as to be able to see the altar and the Eucharistic celebrations from his bed.

293. Palace audience hall, also used as a dining room.

294. Private quarters of Charles V, with the articulated chair conceived by Doctor Mathysio so as to relieve his pain.

295. "Old" or Gothic cloister, on the north wall of the church.

296. Vaults in the church built in a Gothic style but in the 16th century, between 1508 and 1525.

297. High altarpiece of the church, built in the time of Philip II to a design by Juan de Herrera (1584). The painting is a copy by Antonio de Segura (1580) of Titian's *Last Judgement*.

298. Pulpit in the refectory for the corresponding readings during the monks' meals. Plaster work with Gothic and Mudejar themes (15th c.).

299. Refectory on the north side of the Plateresque cloister, with a fountain in its interior and the pulpit for the readings on the wall on the left.

300. Doorway in the western façade of the monastery, with a shield of the Oropesa family and diamond graffito work.

301. Façade of the church with a simple Plateresque doorway, with niches prepared to take images which have not survived to our day.

GUADALUPE (CÁCERES)

302. On the north side of the Plaza Mayor, between the towers of Santa Ana and El Reloj, is the double door of the entrance to the chapel of Santa Ana, which acts as a covered atrium for the church. On the left, the imposing tower of the chapter house and library (15th c.).

305. Cloister of La Enfermería or La Botica —the site of the infirmary and pharmacy. Begun in 1500, it is also known as the Gothic cloister because of the traceries on the arches of the second of the three storeys.

306. Central baldachin of the Mudejar cloister, built in brick with glazed ceramic decoration in a Gothic-Mudejar style. Inside is the fountain of Fray Juan de Sevilla (1405).

307. In one of the corners of the Mudejar cloister is the *lavatorium,* or large conventual washbasin, opposite the entrance to the refectory in the western gallery.

308-309. The tops of the Mudejar canopy, transept and dome of the church, and of the towers of San Gregorio and Las Campanas.

310. The Plateresque architecture of the 16th century left a fine example in the mouth of the staircase of the Mudejar cloister, whose arches appear in the foreground.

311. Opening between the rose windows in the wall of the transept, one of which is the one that can be seen from outside the church and the other the one that can be seen from inside.

312. Sacristy (1636-1645) with richly decorated vault with lunettes. On the walls is the famous series of Hieronymite episodes painted by Zurbarán (1638-1639). In the background, a chapel with Torrigiani's *Saint Jerome.*

313. View of the south transept from inside the church, with the screen by the Dominicans Fray Francisco de Salamanca and Fray Juan de Ávila (1512).

314. Chapel of Santa Catalina commissioned by Beatriz of Portugal for the burial of her parents the *infantes* Dionís of Portugal and Juana of Castile. When the Reliquary —the door in the background— and the Camarín were built, it necessarily became the vestibule for both of them.

315. Interior of the Camarín de la Virgen (1687-1695) by the master Francisco Rodríguez. The paintings with scenes from the Life of the Virgin are by Lucas Jordán (1696) and the sculptures representing the Strong Women of the Bible are by an unknown artist.

316. Interior of the church, with nave and two aisles, in a definite Gothic style, showing the springing point of the dome on projecting vaults which increase the light in the region of the crossing.

317. Vaults over the nave, a result of the reform and enlargement made between 1389 and 1403, when the Hieronymite Order took over the monastery under its first prior Fray Fernando Yáñez.

318-319. "Four days the pilgrims spent in Guadalupe, during which they began to see the splendours of that holy monastery" (Cervantes, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda*).

SANTA MARÍA DE BELÉM. LISBON (PORTUGAL)

320. Dormitory building of the monastery with cells facing the sea.

322. The long front of the dormitory wing, with its low portico formed by 28 arches and known as El Alpendre, has undergone substantial changes during the 19th and 20th centuries.

323. The church presents two very different aspects. While the nave and aisles respond to the Manueline style, the sanctuary and transept are strikingly dry. The change of master mason, from Boytac to Castilho, explains the difference.

325. At the western end of the church, under the vault joining the monks' choir and the dormitory, is the doorway by Nicolau Chanterne (1517), showing King Manuel and Queen María, the daughter of the Catholic Monarchs.

326. Detail of the cloister, whose decoration forms a full repertory of the ornamental character and motifs of the Manueline style

327. The great cloister, a jewel of European monastic architecture, was built at two moments. While the ground floor is by Boytac and Castilho, the upper floor was added by Diego Torralva after 1540.

328-329. Amongst the particularities of the cloister is the solution of the corners leading out to the garden, under an exterior arch crossing the chamfer, instead of the usual way out under the central arches of each gallery.

330-331. On the west side of the cloister, close to the fountain or *lavatorium*, is the entrance to the huge vaulted refectory, now bare, without the tables and benches it once had, before the ceramic socles of the 18th century.

332. Upper part of the cloister with its mullions and arches, much restored in the 19th and 20th centuries. The dome on the church tower is also a modern addition.

333. Narrow, vaulted and very steep staircase between walls, in the east wing of the cloister, leading up to the upper galleries, between the sacristy and the chapter house.

334. View of the interior of the church, with its nave and two aisles of equal height, whose vaults spring from extremely slender pillars which contribute to the transparency and unity of the space. In the background, the raised choir over the entrance.

335. Meeting point between the nave and aisles and the transept, forming a group of vaults unique in the history of architecture because of the minimum number of supports in relation with the surface covered and the height of 25 metres they reach.

336. Chapel beneath the choir with the grave of Vasco de Gama, by the sculptor Costa Mora, erected according to the will of the historian Simón José da Luz Soriano, in a Manueline style (1894).

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